ASARDİBİ (CASARA), A CLASSICAL, HELLENISTIC AND EARLY ROMAN HARBOR IN THE RHODIAN PERÀEA

A THESIS PRESENTED BY AYŞE DEVRİM ATAUZ

TO

THE INSTITUTE OF

ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART

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I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art.

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ABSTRACT

Casara is an ancient town on the Bozburun peninsula, the ancient Loryma peninsula on the south-western coast of Turkey. The site has been visited by modern scholars for general epigraphic surveys since the end of the nineteenth century, and the inscriptions have been published. The last scholarly visit to the site was by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology survey team, in 1982, who surveyed the underwater remains on the northern harbor of the city: Asardibi.

The pottery remains found at Asardibi, in accordance with the underwater material found at Serçe Limanı, the southern harbor of the city of Casara, and the inscriptions studied from the site yielded the period of occupation of the site, between the fourth century B.C. and the second century A.D.. The research about the political and administrative status of the region, known as the Rhodian Peraea, demonstrates the importance and the historical context of Casara, being a Peraean deme center during its period of occupation. Considering the general maritime traffic of the period, Casara was on the main trade routes and functioned as a Rhodian harbor on the mainland. In addition, due to its strategic position on the isthmus of the Loryma peninsula it was a local harbor serving the local traffic of the Incorporated Peraea. The investigation of the natural and human resources of the Casaran territory in antiquity completes the general picture and demonstrates that Casara and other towns in the Incorporated Rhodian Peraea served as places to provide manpower for the operation of the Rhodian navy.

ÖZET

Casara, eski ismi Loryma olan ve Türkiye kıyılarının güney batısında bulunan Bozburun yarımadasında yer alan antik bir yerleşimdir. Casara antik yerleşimi ondokuzuncu yüzyılın sonundan itibaren pekçok bilim adamı tarafından ziyaret edilmiş, genellikle epigrafik araştırmalar yapılmış ve incelenen yazıtlar yayınlanmıştır. Casara antik yerleşimi üzerine yapılan son arkeolojik çalışmalar, Sualtı Arkeolojisi Enstitüsü tarafından 1982, 1995 ve 1996 yıllarında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu araştırmalar sırasında Casara antik kentinin kuzey limanı olan Asardibi araştırılmış ve sualtındaki kalıntılar incelenmiştir.

Asardibi'nde bulunan seramik kalıntıları gerek Casara kentinin güney limanı olan Serçe Limanında ele geçen arkeolojik buluntuların ve gerekse Casara antik kentinde bulunan yazıtların verdiği tarihlendirmelerle paralellik taşımaktadır. Bu buluntuların ışığında Casara antik kentinin M.Ö. 4 ile M.S. 2. yüzyıllar arasında yerleşim gördüğü anlaşılmaktadır. Bölgenin bu dönemdeki politik ve idari biçimi Rodos Perası olarak bilinmektedir. Casara'nın Pera deme merkezi olduğu bulunan yazıtlardan anlaşılmıştır ve bu anlamda çok önemli bir idari merkez olduğu bilinmektedir. Ayrıca dönemin deniz trafiğine dair bilgilerimiz Casara'nın en önemli deniz ticaret yolları üzerinde olduğunu ve anakarada bir Rodos limanı gibi işlev gördüğünü göstermektedir.

Casara, yarımada kıstağı üzerinde bulunmasından kaynaklanan stratejik konumunun yanısıra Rodos Bağlaşık Perasının diğer kentleriyle yerel bir ticaret ağının da parçasıdır. Antik dönemde Casara topraklarının doğal ve insani kaynakları üzerine yapılan araştırmalar genel bilgileri tamamlayarak Casara kentinin de bir parçası olduğu Rodos Bağlaşık Perası kentleri vatandaşlarının olasılıkla Rodos donanmasında görev aldığını ortaya çıkarmıştır.

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Chapter I : Introduction

On the southwestern Turkish coast, opposite the island of Rhodes, lies a peninsula known as Bozburun peninsula (Map 1). On the western side of the peninsula there is a small bay known as Asardibi at the entrance of another larger natural harbor known as Söğüt Limanı. During the summer of 1982, as part of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology's (INA) underwater survey in conjunction with Texas A&M University the Asardibi bay was identified as an ancient site[1]. In this thesis, I will report on the actual survey undertaken at Asardibi, present a catalogue of the artifacts recovered and analyze the artifacts in order to place the site within its historical context.

1.1. Asardibi

Asardibi lies on the southwestern shore of Turkey in its southernmost peninsula. The coastline is rugged and nearly vertical. Along the entire length of the peninsula's coast, only three inlets on the southern side, Bozukkale (Loryma or Aplotheka bay), Serçe Limanı and Dedik Limanı (Prinari Bay) afford any shelter from the open sea (Map 2). On the northern side, the rugged bay at the connection of the peninsula to the mainland forms three inlets still used as harbors: Bozburun (Tymnus), Söğüt Limanı (Saranda Bay) and Asardibi (Map 2). Söğüt Limanı is the largest of all these inlets. Asardibi and Dedik Limanı, to the southeast of Söğüt Limanı, are at the two sides of the narrowest part of the Bozburun (Loryma) peninsula. However, because there are high hills on the direct line between Asardibi and Dedik Limanı (about one kilometer apart), the nearest way to reach the other side of the peninsula from Asardibi is to follow the narrow valley between Asardibi and Serçe Limanı, which extends about two and a half kilometers, in a northeast-southwest direction (Map 1). The ancient name for the site on this valley is Casara[2].

The entrance to Asardibi is closed by three small rocky islets, Taşlıca, Suluca and Değirmen islets (Makri, Plati and Aulaki), of which the biggest one, known as Taşlıca island (Makri), shields the bay from

[1]The underwater surveys carried out by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology are aiming to locate, define and date the underwater and wreck sites on the Turkish coast. The area surveyed was selected after interviewing a sponge diver from the town of Bozburun, Özdemir Şengül.

[2]The site was identified as Casara from epigraphic evidence by Theodore Bent in 1888. This is the earliest visit by a modern scholar to Casara and the descriptions and observations of Bent will be discussed in detail.

winds and waves (Maps 1 and 2). The shoreline of the bay is composed of rough limestone with one small cobbled beach at the middle (Ill. 1). The path beginning just behind this beach provides the passage to the other side of the peninsula, eventually leading to the other harbor, Serçe Limanı, two and a half kilometers distant as mentioned above.

1.1.1. The 1982 Survey

The expedition vessel of INA, *Virazon*, visited Asardibi on 30 October, 1982, in the course of a survey carried out in this region. The site was shown by a sponge diver from Bozburun town nearby. The name Asardibi itself has a meaning in Turkish as "the ancient bottom or seabed" but when the site received this name is obscure. However it is evident that the sponge divers from Bozburun town discovered this spot as soon as they started to explore the seabed to find sponge, and this name was given to this small bay. The 1982 survey was mainly associated with the northern shore (Map 3 and Ill. 1). As the harbor is entered from the north, the shoreline curves back and there is a cliff face at this point. Past the cliff face, the shore resumes its normal steep profile (Ill. 1). The cliff continues underwater and, in the rest of the bay, the ridge extends underwater. The formation of the coast here makes Asardibi a natural harbor: there is a rock shelf of about ca. two meters width at a depth of half a meter and then the underwater sheer reaches a depth of 25 meters. The depth is about 30 meters towards the center of the bay. The bay is a suitable harbor for antique ships of up to 300 tons burden[3].

The section of the seabed surveyed in 1982 was in the area just next to the cliff face at the northeastern end of the bay (Map 3, Ill. 1). The maximum concentration of the artifacts was noted at about twenty-five meters from the shore. The nature of the artifacts recovered in 1982 was interesting to the survey team as it pointed to the continuous use of the harbor in the Hellenistic period. All artifacts scattered on the seabed in this area are small cups and bowls, and most of them are intact vessels[4]. Eleven whole artifacts for inventory and dating and three broken pieces for study were raised and brought to the Bodrum Museum of

[3]See 4.6. below for detailed information.

[4]Artifacts C1, C2, C3, C6, C7, C10, C11, L14, B16 and U21.

Underwater Archaeology for storage, where each object was catalogued, measured and inventoried. The objects were dried without being desalinated and without being cleaned of their concretions[5].

On the basis of the 1982 survey, it was decided that the site was definitely not a shipwreck. On the other hand, it was not thought to be a pure dump site because many pieces were intact. In addition, the area was thought to be badly suited for anchorage and harbor facilities. The survey team's interpretation of the underwater site - and of the possible walls of polygonal masonry observed on the ridge on land (Ill.1)- was that this could have been a votive site. The archaeologists in the survey team suggested that the smaller finds were cast into the sea as offerings and the larger broken containers discarded after their contents were used for libation[6]. Another idea presented in the field notebook is the possibility that this bay could have been used for mooring by random ships where they discarded the broken material or spoiled cargo after, for instance, stormy weather. However, because of the intact state and the abundance of the material on site, it was noted as a very interesting area and the vessels collected from the site were brought to the museum.

1.1.2. The 1995 Survey

After I started to study the material recovered during the 1982 Survey, the survey team returned to Asardibi in September, 1995, to provide more information for my research. In the course of the survey, the divers extended their investigations to the south of the area surveyed in 1982 and noted that the abundance of material continued throughout the bay. The objects raised in the 1995 survey represent a wider range of types and styles, and represent a wider range in period. In addition, many broken amphorae, pithoi and tiles were also observed by the archaeological divers although no examples of these were collected. The objects recovered and raised were again brought to the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology where I cleaned the concretions and started the desalination process. These objects were cleaned roughly to take exact measurements and to achieve the exact profiles for drawing. They were catalogued, measured, drawn and photographed prior to their desalination. They will be stored in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology. The spread of the artifacts all through the bay, noted in the 1995 survey, and the presence of

[5]Therefore, I myself had to clean at least the profiles before making the drawings. Some were very fragile as they still contained salt which makes ceramic bodies very fragile when it crystallizes in the pores. However, compared to other artifacts recovered from the seabed, they were in reasonably good condition. I suggest that the reason for that could be that the seabed is sandy. Another probability is the strong fabric of low porosity and without incisions used in their production.

[6]C. Pulak, personal communication - field notebook.

other types such as larger containers (amphorae and pithoi) made this site more promising for further research.

1.1.3. The 1996 Survey

The INA survey team returned to the site in 1996, to survey the southwest and west sides of the bay more intensively and to identify the amphora types. They noted that there was no particular concentration of material either in terms of type or material in any part of the bay. However Byzantine sherds were only seen on the west side of the bay, and the highest concentration was observed on the southeast side (Map 3). The archaeologists reported that the artifacts were scattered at a depth of three to twenty eight meters.

During the 1996 survey, many large body sherds belonging to open vessels like pithoi or craters were observed. According to one of the survey team members, Patricia Sibella, these open vessels illustrate the characteristics of late Roman types, with very wide grooves along their bodies. In addition, coarse ware sherds probably belonging to large plates and bowls, bottoms of rectangular vessels with ca. 30 cm thick bases, trefoil mouth pitchers, two incomplete oil lamps (one with a handle and one without) and handles of other lamps of Hellenistic date, ring feet of small cups and a small number of Byzantine sherds are among the small finds. Slightly convex roof tiles (ca. 80 x 30 cm) with eroded rectangular stamps appear to be scattered all along the site. There were also quantities of amphora toes (of at least four types), a few amphora body sherds, and especially upper parts with stamped handles and broken handles with stamps. Unfortunately the stamps were too eroded to recognize and no complete amphora was seen. Among the nine different types noted, only three could be definitely identified as Knidian, Koan, and Rhodian (with eroded stamps). Many ceramic amphora stoppers were also distributed throughout the site. Another important detail is the presence of ballast stones made out of a smooth and dense stone not common to the area. These are either rectangular flat slabs with grooves (of different sizes) or trapezoidal forms. Underwater photographs illustrating the distribution of the artifacts on the seabed and especially the amphora types were taken to help my research.

1.2. Other Research on Asardibi and Casara

I visited the site for the first time in February 1996. During this visit, the features (Ill.1) seen from the deck of the survey vessel in 1982 and identified as polygonal walls were observed from a closer distance by climbing up the steep ridge. However, observations of this visit make it difficult to define securely these features as wall remains. Since the visit took place in spring, and in rainy season, the serious seasonal rock-slide problem faced by the people living in the neighboring towns was evident. The uneven sizes of the stones forming these wall-like places (two of them were noted in 1982), and the absence of tool marks and mortar remains, make it doubtful that they can be interpreted as man-made walling. One of them, about 1.60 meters thick, extends about 10.5 meters. It has a semi circular shape, and is about 3.5 meters high along its entire length. The second 'wall' is rather confusing, as the thickness, height and length were difficult to assess, or even to decide where the 'wall' ended and the natural rocky ridge started. However, it appears to be roughly 4.5 meters in length and 1.5 meters in maximum width. The differing sizes of the stones make one suggest that it is simply a natural feature formed by the stones slipping down the slope. I believe that although the second one can hardly be interpreted as a wall, the rather regular dimensions and shape of the first one need to be taken into consideration. It seems possible that these structures were part of the fortification walls around the city of Casara.

Also during my first visit to the site, I had the chance to interview the sailors and fisherman in the Bozburun marina about the sailing conditions in this area. Their experience proves that Asardibi is still used as a shelter by boats, especially during the stormy and rainy season that takes place roughly between December and April. It is used mainly by the inhabitants of the Taşlıca village on the mountain behind Asardibi bay. Its use declined after a road was constructed between Söğüt and Taşlıca villages a few years ago.

I visited the site a second time in August 1996, and this time examined the valley between Asardibi and Serçe Limanı (Figs. 1 and 4). This valley is reached by climbing through the narrow and steep passage in between the two hills on the southeast and south sides of the Asardibi bay. Eroded limestone steps lead up through the passage and it is clear that they were part of a stepped entrance from the Asardibi bay into the north side of the ancient settlement Casara, that occupied the valley (Map 3). Right above these steps, at the beginning of the base of the southern hill, are situated the first two of the many stepped pyramidal funerary

monuments (Map 3 and Ill. 2). There is also a block bearing an inscription. Walls and scattered blocks of another Hellenistic building with masonry characteristic of the Hellenistic period were also noted on the eastern side. In addition, the foundations and the entrance of a Byzantine apsidal church, built of re-used Hellenistic blocks (some with inscriptions in ancient Greek), is located to the east of where the stepped entrance ends (Map 3). Past the church, and west of the beginning of the valley, stand the walls of a very big round structure, some 15 meters in diameter (Map 3). At the foot of the western slope behind the round building, together with two three to five meters long walls, are located four funerary pyramids: one square, one triangular and two rectangular (Map 3). At the continuation of the hill there are another four rectangular pyramids (Map 3). The last rectangular pyramid in the west side of the valley lies on the next low hill (Map 3). On the hills at the eastern side of the valley, there are again both rectangular pyramids and building foundations and remains (Map 3). A few fragments of worked marble[7], one of which looked like the acroterion for a small sarcophagus, and another like part of a marble statue, were observed in this area. The ground surface here is covered with very eroded coarse wares and amphora body sherds, rims and handles. A few amphora handles bore round stamps with a typical Rhodian Hellenistic lotus flower motif at the center were noted in this area. The stamps were round but again too eroded to define, except two which bore round stamps with the characteristic lotus-flower-like motif. In general, it can be said that the concentration of the stepped pyramids in the valley is on the west and the building remains are on the east. The maximum concentration of the sherds lies at the foot of the eastern hills and in the olive groves on the east, below the building remains. The last Hellenistic building block is located at about 600 meters away from the Asardibi bay. I also looked for the row of column bases observed in 1888 by Bent[8] below the ruins of a Byzantine church (Map 3). The ruins of a very small church were there, still under the carob-tree that Bent mentioned, but the column bases were probably buried in the intervening century. South of that point, no pyramids, walls or anything resembling a construction is to be observed. However, the scattered surface sherds do extend further although in much smaller quantities. Occasional glazed sherds from small fine ware bowls or cups were noticed, and the color of the glaze is either black or red, suggesting a Classical or Hellenistic date.

[7]The marble is visually comparable to Docimeian marble.

[8]E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra" *JHS* 10 (1889) 46-48.

The underwater material from Asardibi certainly has a connection with the site of Casara which lies to its south. The bay must have been attached to this city, and functioned as a harbor, since the presence of the stepped entrance to the city from Asardibi also supports this suggestion. Therefore the original interpretation of the underwater finds, in 1982, as pointing to the presence of a votive site in Asardibi and the possible relationship between the discarded votives in the seabed and the wall remains on the coast needs to be revised. Not only is there no evidence to support the idea that the wall remains on the coast had any kind of association with cult activities or rituals, but also the likelyhood that the extensive settlement in the valley behind the bay used this harbor for trade activities eliminates this interpretation. The extent of the settlement of Casara also suggests the contemporary use of Serçe Limanı as a harbor, therefore demonstrating the secondary function of Asardibi. Since the results of the surveys at Asardibi demonstrated that the underwater site there includes various pottery types and the general distribution of the artifacts rather resembles a harbor debris, the suggestion of a votive site can be definitely eliminated. The nature of the relationship between Asardibi and the settlement of Casara needs to be investigated to define the function of this bay and the character of the underwater debris.

Chapter II : Ceramic finds from Asardibi

The pottery sample from Asardibi totals thirty-one pieces, found during 1982 and 1995 underwater surveys. This pottery can be paralleled with finds from stratified sites of the Mediterranean and main trade centers of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times. In many cases they give clear dates for the Asardibi material, as will be explained in detail for each individual piece in the analytical section presented here. Pottery finds from Asardibi are all drawn 1:1 scale and presented at the end of the thesis as numbered figures. The sites where the parallels for Asardibi finds were found are shown on Map 4.

2.1. Type 1: Two-handled cups

2.1.1. Introduction

Eleven cups and cup fragments were discovered in 1982 and 1995 INA survey seasons at the submerged site Asardibi. These two-handled cups represent the category with the highest number of examples among the finds. The cups found at Asardibi belong to a pottery type not common in other sites. No exact parallel is identified for the Asardibi cups but it was possible to make tentative observations. In addition, determining the date, origin or provenance, however, is difficult on the basis of profile alone. One of the several difficulties is that because of the effects of seawater, not much of the original glaze or decoration has survived. Therefore, in order better to identify similar productions, it will be worth defining the sub-types of profiles among Asardibi cups.

Although all the cups found at Asardibi are incurved cups with everted rims certain variations help to define the sub-types. One of the most important differences among the cups rests with the shape of the lip: ***a*** lips flaring outwards, ***b*** plain lips, ***c*** incurved lips. All the cups in these sub-types have round sectioned handles. In addition, it seemed convenient to create another sub-type ***d*** for the two examples with strap handles.

2.1.2. Analysis

Three cup types from the Greek world bear general similarities to the Asardibi types: the 'Stemless group' in the Athenian Agora[9]; 'one handler' and later 'bolsal' cups from the Athenian Agora; and the

[9]B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Agora* XII: *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.* (Princeton 1970).

'Echinus Bowl' and 'Black glazed stemless kylixes' from Corinth. The earliest type at the Athenian Agora that is similar to Type 1 at Asardibi is the 'one-handler', and especially nos. 724 and 745, with the same profile as the sub-types *c* and *d* and very similar dimensions to the whole group of cups at Asardibi. 'One-handlers' are found in contexts of early sixth to early fifth centuries B.C. One similar very early appearance of the type is represented by a single cup from Smyrna[10] found in the temple of Athena (plate 113) and dated to the sixth century B.C.

Cups similar to ours in general belong to the 'Stemless' group in the Athenian Agora[11]. However, the only example which parallels Type 1 at Asardibi is the cup no. 1393, dated to ca. 500 B.C.; among the 'votives' group, this cup is notably similar in form to the cups in sub-type *d*, and especially **C 10** except for its flat base. Another example from the Athenian Agora, cup no. 464, which is in the sub-group 'variants' and is dated to ca. 450 B.C., parallels sub-type *c*, in profile and dimensions; however it has a very thick fabric, and can be considered an unsuccessful variation. The fact that no. 464 is dated to ca. 450 B.C. and no. 1393 is dated to ca. 500 B.C. through their contexts, suggests an early date for the existence of this shape in Athens and it seems that it never became a popular form. Therefore, it might be concluded that the 'stemless' and 'one -handler' types at Athens, played important roles in the formation of the later 'bolsal' type, which has a form characterized by plain rim and two horizontal handles. Bolsal rims are not similar to the Asardibi cups. However in general appearance this is the type which looks most like the Asardibi cups; it is also a type of cup that had a widespread distribution when compared to the other parallel types mentioned above. The earliest examples of 'bolsal' at the Athenian Agora date to 430 B.C. The form of cups with two handles, convex bodies and incurved rims seems to have originated in Attica and formed the prototype of the Corinthian series of the early fifth century, known as the 'Echinus Bowl' and characterized by walls of varying degrees of convexity and steepness, rising to a rim formed by a strong inward curve, from a ring foot. Although the shape was not made in any great quantity in Attica and disappeared during the fourth century, it continued in production at Corinth until 146 B.C[12]. A group in Corinth[13], the 'Black-glazed stemless kylixes' (and especially nos. 450-5 and 450-6 similar to Asardibi cups), are dated to the mid

[10]E. Akurgal, *Eski Izmir I, Yerleşme Katları ve Athena Tapınağı*, (Ankara 1983).

[11]B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Agora* XII: *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.* (Princeton 1970).

[12]G. R. Edwards, *Corinth* VII, Pt. 3: *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery* (Princeton 1975).

[13]C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer and R.S. Young, *Corinth XIII: North Cemetery* (Princeton 1964).

fifth century B.C. The two cups found at Perachora[14](nos. 2955 and 2961) are dated after a similar cup, described as 'miniature kotyle', found at Corinth[15] (no. 81) dated to the late fifth century B.C. and another one[16] (no. D57) to the late fifth and the early fourth century B.C. A similar cup, classified with 'Attic and Corinthian black glaze', from Perachora (no. 3888) is dated to the fourth century B.C. after its context. Finally a South Italian or Etruscan variant with the same profile and section of, especially, **C 10** is dated to the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. by Hayes[17].

The last sub-type of 'Echinus Bowls', which is also the smallest, 'salt-cellars', conforms to the profiles and dimensions of Asardibi sub-types ***c*** and ***d***. 'Salt-cellars' at Corinth were in production between the fourth century and 200 B.C. 'Salt-cellars' nos. 52, 55 and 67 are the most similar examples in form.

The examples of 'stemless' cups found at Porto Cheli[18] (nos. 23 and 24), are dated to the mid-fourth century B.C. after the parallels at the Athenian Agora. Porto Cheli cups are similar to sub-type ***a*** with their lips and sub-type ***d*** with their handles. The same types of profiles in bigger sizes are also found at Tel Michal in second to third centuries B.C. contexts[19]. One similar cup was found in Priene[20].

2.1.3. Conclusion

In summary, although it is difficult to find exact parallels for Type 1 at Asardibi, there are some similar cups found in various places, showing the widespread distribution of the form. However, although this shape probably originated in Attica, it became popular only in other places, in local workshops and with many variations. In this case, it can be suggested that the Type 1 cups from Asardibi are local variations of the Attic shape. The bowls with incurved rim were being imported from Attica as early as the late fifth century B.C. at Olynthos and Samaria[21]. By the early fourth century they were being manufactured locally in quantities. Therefore it is not possible to suggest a date for the local variants of Type 1 cups at Asardibi

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[14]H. Payne and T.J. Dunbabin, *Perachora* Vol. II, *The Sanctuaries of Hera Araia and Limenia* (Oxford 1962).

[15]M.Z. Pease, "A Well of the Late Fifth Century at Corinth," *Hesperia*, vi (1937) 257-316.

[16]S.S. Weinberg, "Cross-section of Corinthian Antiquities" *Hesperia* XVII, (1948).

[17]J. W. Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1976).

[18]W. Rudolph, "Excavations at Porto Cheli and Vicinity," *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 105-131.

[19]L. Singer-Avitz, "Local Pottery of the Persian Period (Strata XIV-VI)," in Z. Herzog, G. Rapp, Jr and O. Negbi eds., *Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel* (Minneapolis, Tel Aviv 1989) 115-145.

[20]T. Wiegand und H. Shrader, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren* 1895-1898, (Berlin 1904).

[21]J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria* (London 1957).

earlier than the early fourth century B.C. The slip preserved on the cup **C 1** is important, since practice of glazing by dipping is as widespread as the form. There are examples of cups of about the same date and of similar dimensions but without handles, glazed by dipping, at Mycenae[22] (nos. 3, 7, 8) and one-handled cups at Corinth[23] (nos. 321-1,2,3). Another difficulty is to know for how long these cups were produced. According to the general conservative traditions in Caria, they might have been produced well into the Hellenistic period. However, evidence does not provide a secure dating for this assumption and therefore, we will suggest that the earliest date for these cups could be the early fourth century B.C.

2.1.4. Catalogue

2.1.4.1. Sub-type a: Cups with incurved shoulders, everted rims and flaring lips

C1 FIG.1

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 18/26/82 (PLATE 1:1)

Cup. Near complete with one handle missing. Interior slightly concreted. Well-fired. Wheel-made with interior wheel-marks. Incurved rims; hallow everted lip with shallow groove at exterior base of lip; two V-shaped horizontal round-sectioned handles, attached just below the rim; convex wall joining to a ring base; raised base with central protruding knob. Visible slip on the rim and on the exterior, forming a band about 2 cm wide. Remains of the same slip inside. Max. h. 0.043; Max. diam. 0.083; Foot diam. 0.033; Handle diam. 0.007. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) fabric; dark brown (7.5YR 3/2) slip.

C2 FIG. 2.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 20/26/82

Cup. Complete. Wheel-made, wheel-marks visible inside. Slightly concreted especially inside. Well-fired. Incurved rim and everted lip, forming a groove around the rim and just below the lip; the convex outer wall begins right below this groove; horizontal loop handles, attached below the rim; convex wall joining to a ring foot; raised base with central protruding knob. Max. h. 0.038; Max. diam. 0.075; Foot diam. 0.031; Handle diam. 0.006. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6 - 4/6) to strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) fabric; black (5YR 5/1)

[22]W. Rudolph, "Hellenistic Fine Ware Pottery and Lamps from above the House with the Idols at Mycenae," *BSA* 73 (1978) 223-231.

[23]C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer and R.S. Young, *Corinth XIII: North Cemetery* (Princeton 1964).

slip preserved on outer surface, 1 cm below and 0.5 cm above the maximum curving point of the profile, and on the handle(s).

2.1.4.2. Sub-type b: Cups with incurved rims, grooved on the exterior rim base.

C3 FIG.3.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 22/26/82

Cup. Complete. Slightly concreted especially inside. Wheel-made. Well-fired. Raised, plain lip; incurved rim grooved on the exterior; two raised, round sectioned, horizontal U shaped handles, set at base of rim, below the groove; convex wall; ring foot; raised base with central protruding knob; traces of paint preserved underneath the interior concretions. Max. h. 0.038; Max. diam. 0.085; Foot diam. 0.039; Handle diam. 0.006. Yellowish red (5YR 4/6) to red (2.5YR 5/6) and dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) fabric; dark reddish gray (5YR 4/2) slip.

C4 FIG. 4.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/7 (PLATE 1:3)

Cup. Near complete with one handle missing. Concreted especially inside. Wheel-made. Well-fired. Surfaces are somewhat weathered. Slightly raised, plain lip; incurved rim grooved on the exterior; round sectioned, raised, horizontal loop handle(s) set at base of rim; convex wall; straight sided ring foot; raised base with central protruding knob; curved inside bottom. Max. h. 0.04; Max. diam. 0.08; Foot diam. 0.038; Handle diam. 0.008. Strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) fabric, reddish brown (5YR 5/4) slip.

C5 FIG. 5.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/8 (PLATE 1:2,3)

Cup. Near complete, parts of both handles missing. Wheel-made, wheel-marks inside. Well-fired. Raised, inverted lip; incurved rim grooved on the exterior; round-sectioned handles, slightly drooping, set on shoulder, just below the groove around the lip; convex wall; ring base with central protruding knob; black slip preserved especially on the inside surface. Max. h. 0.04; Max. diam. 0.08; Foot diam. 0.039. Light brown (7.5YR 6/4) fabric, black (5YR 2.5/1) glaze.

2.1.4.3. Sub-type c: Cups with incurved rim.

C6 FIG. 6.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 19/26/82

Cup. Complete. Wheel-made. Well--fired. Incurved rim; beveled lip; raised, horizontal, loop, round-sectioned handles set at rim; convex wall; ring base with central protruding knob. Max. h. 0.032; Max. diam. 0.083; foot diam. 0.036; Handle diam. 0.006. Reddish brown (2.5YR 3/6) fabric; dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) slip around the rim and on exterior.

C7 FIG. 7.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 21/26/82

Cup. Complete. Wheel-made, wheel-marks on the interior; incurved rim; two horizontal slightly raised round sectioned loop handles set at rim; convex wall; raised base raised base with central protruding knob. Max. h. 0.037; Max. diam. 0.077; Foot diam. 0.032; Handle diam. 0.006. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4 - 5/3) fabric; no slip preserved.

C8 FIG. 8.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/9 (PLATE 1:4)

Cup. Incomplete: one handle, part of the rim and part of the wall extant. Fragment of a larger cup than the previous ones, or a small bowl. Very fine ware. Flat, incurved lip; incurving rim; slightly raised U shaped handle set at rim. Preserved h. 0.026. Estim. Max. diam. 0.116. Handle diam. 0.005. Fabric color changes from yellowish brown (10YR 5/8 - 5/6) to brownish yellow (10YR 6/6).

C9 FIG. 9.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/10 (PLATE 1:4)

Cup. Incomplete: one handle, part of the rim and part of the wall extant. Wheel-made. Well-fired. Flat, incurved lip; incurved rim; round-sectioned, slightly raised, loop handle set on the shoulder. Preserved h. 0.023. Estim. Max. diam. 0.094. Handle diam. 0.007. Light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) fabric.

2.1.4.4. Sub-type d: Cups with strap handles

C10 FIG. 10.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 15/26/82 (PLATE 1:5)

Cup. Complete. Wheel-made. Well-fired. Heavily concreted on inside and outside; Incurved, rounded rim; drooping V shaped, horizontal strap handles set on the shoulder; convex walls; raised ring base with central protruding knob. Max. h. 0.03; Max. diam. 0.05; Foot diam. 0.027; Handle dimensions 0.011x0.005. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) fabric, no glaze remains.

C11 FIG. 11.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOG NUMBER: 16/26/82 (PLATE 1:5)

Cup. Complete. Wheel-made, wheel-mark on the interior. Well-fired. Incurved rim; V shaped strap handles, horizontal and slightly raised, set asymmetrically on shoulder; convex walls; flat base slightly outflaring at the bottom; flat base; flat inside bottom curving towards the walls; slip or paint preserved inside and under the handles. Max. h. 0.026; Max. diam. 0.05; Foot diam. 0.032; Handle diam. 0.011x0.007. Reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6 - 6/6) fabric; dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) slip.

2.2. Type 2: Terracotta Lamps

2.2.1. Introduction:

Four terracotta lamps were discovered during the 1982 and 1995 Asardibi surveys. They are all wheel-made and without surviving slip or glaze. The lamps represent well known and widely distributed types. Many parallels for each have been determined and specific parallels are given in the individual catalogue entries below. The only difficulty, however, is in determining the ultimate provenance of these lamps. Because imitation of lamp types was common, it is difficult to give a secure place of manufacture for them.

2.2.2. Analysis

The earliest lamp found at Asardibi is **L 12**. Similar examples to **L 12** have been published from the Athenian Agora[24], under Type 30A. They date to the late fifth century B.C. based on the stylistic similarities to earlier types and findspots. The open filling hole and the down-sloping rim are characteristic

[24]R.H. Howland, *Agora* IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals* (Princeton 1958).

of these early lamps[25]. This early date and the evidence for the development of the form in the Athenian Agora, makes it possible to suggest that the form is of Attic origin. However, similar lamps in Corinth[26] (Type IV) are dated to the fifth century B.C. which suggests a rather long period of production. Similar examples were found in Rhodes[27] in the late fifth century or slightly later contexts and in Ephesus[28] as local manufacture at the Temple of Artemis, in the first half of the fourth century. Another example of this type was found in Cyprus[29] as imported ware in a burial dated to the first third of the fourth century B.C. The existence of the form at Isthmia, Type IV, in a late fourth century context seems to confirm its continuing use and production in the region. The type was also imitated over a wide geographical area, from Anatolia to the eastern Mediterranean coast. The local imitations of the original Attic form at Tel Michal[30] in Palestine are dated from the first half of the fourth century into the first quarter of the third century B.C. The appearance at Delos[31] of similar lamps, with the same profile and shape, occurs in the second quarter of the third century. Tarsian lamps of Group VIII are another group that parallels **L 12**. Not only the forms and shapes are similar, but the technique used to shape the nozzle also seems to be the same: by pushing a stick through the rim, frequently leaving a ridge of clay around the inside of the perforation. The Tarsian lamps of Group VIII are left unglazed and they appear in the late Hellenistic unit.

The second lamp from Asardibi, **L 13**, has parallels dated to later elsewhere. In the Athenian Agora[32] publications similar lamps are grouped under Type 34A, dated to the last quarter of the third into the third quarter of the second century B.C. Although **L 13** has no preserved lug, there is an uneven surface at the place of the lug which might be an indication of a broken lug. **L 13**, as all other pottery from Asardibi, has no glaze preserved. However, a parallel lamp in the Athenian Agora, (no. 464), is listed among the 'variants' as it was not glazed as the other lamps in Type 34A. Therefore it is possible that **L 13** was also originally unglazed. Outside the Athenian Agora, lamps of this type were found more frequently in the

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[25]Ibid.

[26]C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer and R.S. Young, *Corinth XIII: North Cemetery* (Princeton 1964).

[27]D.M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum. I. Greek, Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London 1975).

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]L. Singer-Avitz, "Local Pottery of the Persian Period (Strata XIV-VI)," in Z. Herzog, G. Rapp, Jr and O. Negbi eds., *Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel* (Minneapolis, Tel Aviv 1989) 115-145.

[31]P. Bruneau et al., *Delos* XXVII (Paris 1970).

[32]R.H. Howland, *Agora* IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals* (Princeton 1958).

Eastern Mediterranean than in Mainland Greece: namely, in Antioch[33] (Type II: a-b, third quarter of the third century B.C.), in Tarsus[34] (in Group VIII, in middle second century B.C. context), Labraunda[35] (dated to soon after the middle of the second century B.C.), in Delos[36], and in Dura Europos (Type V: c). Therefore, it cannot be determined whether this lamp is of Eastern Mediterranean or Attic origin.

The third lamp, **L 14**, belongs to a well-known and well-defined Eastern Mediterranean type which was produced and used for a long time: roughly the third and the second centuries B.C. The lamp-type has a rather confusing range of dating in different sites. However, although the dating within this category of lamps does differ according to their contexts and findspots, the standard chronology seems to derive from the Athenian Agora. Therefore, it seems reasonable in this case to start with the typology and chronology of the Athenian Agora, rather than following the chronological order of the parallels.

Parallel lamps are classified under Type 32 in the Athenian Agora[37]. This type evolves through various stages within its chronological range: the shape of the filling hole border changes from a narrow flat sloping band to the fully developed and pronouncedly concave lip. This progression serves as a criterion for dating the lamps early or late within the type. Therefore according to this criterion we can date **L 14** to the end of the third century B.C. The sunken rim of Type 32 mark the earliest appearance of this feature, which will be such an important characteristic of later Greek and especially Roman lamps. The rims that are noticeably concave are set off from the sloping sides by grooves. The nozzles are long, flat on top or nearly so, and rounded or blunted at the end. The blunted ends are typical of the third century B.C. Especially nos. 426 and 429 are exact parallels of **L 14**, with their double convex (angular) profiles, their concave bases, and the concavities on their rims. It is also important to note that these examples have a rather thin black glaze that is inclined to flake. An exact parallel from Samaria is dated to the third-second century B.C. after Broneer Type IX at Isthmia and its finding place. In Isthmia[38] similar lamps are classified under Type IXA and dated to the early third century B.C. after Agora Type 29b, which is the earlier phase of Type 32. An

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[33]R. Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III: *Excavations of 1937-1939* (Princeton 1941).

[34]H. Goldman ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* I. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Section 6: F.F. Jones, "The Pottery" (Princeton 1950).

[35]P. Hellstrom, *Labraunda* II:1, *Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass* (Lund 1965).

[36]P. Bruneau et al., *Delos* XXVII (Paris 1970).

[37]R.H. Howland, *Agora* IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals* (Princeton 1958).

[38]O. Broneer, *Isthmia vol. III: Terracotta Lamps* (Princeton, New Jersey 1977).

exact parallel from Labraunda[39] is dated to the second quarter of the third century to the early second century B.C. after its context and Agora Type 32. In Delos[40], similar lamps are dated to the end of the third century B.C. for the same reason. The examples from the Athenian Agora do fit chronologically here, being dated to the end of the third century B.C. The latest parallel, from Dura-Europos[41] (Type II: Group 1), is dated to the first half of the second century B.C. At Tarsus[42], the type resembling **L 14** is classified as Group II.

The latest lamp in the series is **L15**. The surviving nozzle fragment has volutes which serve as a typological criterion for the dating of the lamp. As no other decoration and handle are preserved on this lamp (if there were any) details about those as well as the profile, are not going to be discussed here as the surviving fragment is not enough to suggest a certain profile for the original shape. But the nozzle shape and profile are sufficient to recognize parallels. Jones[43] suggests that this type of lamp represents copies of metal ones, and both shape and fabric imitate the more expensive prototypes. The parallels of **L15** in the Athenian Agora[44] are grouped under Group G, and range from the first to the second century A.D. Another parallel from the Athenian Agora[45] can be dated more precisely to the second half of the first century A.D. because of its findspot. Similar examples from the Athenian Agora are grouped by Thompson[46] under Type XX, and dated from the Augustan period into the first century A.D. Isthmian[47] lamps of the same form are grouped under Type XXIII. The form has a widespread distribution in the Eastern Mediterranean as well. In Tarsus[48] the great numbers of this type (dated to the mid-first century A.D. according to their context) reflect the popularity that the style enjoyed in the Eastern Mediterranean World. The presence of the type in Antioch[49] (Type 39, Augustan period into the second half of the first century A.D.), in Byblos[50], in Salamis

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[39]P. Hellstrom, *Labraunda* II:1, *Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass* (Lund 1965).

[40]P. Bruneau, *Exploration archaeologique de Delos* XXVI: *Les lampes* (Paris 1965).

[41]P. V. C. Baur, *Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report* IV Part III: *The Lamps* (Oxford 1947).

[42]H. Goldman ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* I. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Section 6: F.F. Jones, "The Pottery" (Princeton 1950).

[43]Ibid.

[44]H. S. Robinson, *Agora* V., *Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology* (Princeton 1959).

[45]J. Perlzweig, *Agora* VII. *Lamps of the Roman Period* (Princeton 1961).

[46]H. A. Thompson, "Terracotta Lamps," *Hesperia* 2:2 (1933)

[47]O. Broneer, *Isthmia vol. III Terracotta Lamps* (Princeton, New Jersey 1977).

[48]H. Goldman ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* I. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Section 6: F.F. Jones, "The Pottery" (Princeton 1950)

[49]R. Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III: *Excavations of* 1937-1939 (Princeton 1941).

on Cyprus[51] and in Caesarea[52] (the first century B.C. into the first century A.D.) also proves that the form spread over the Eastern Mediterranean as early as the Augustan period. The origin of this form might be Cypriot, Knidian or Cilician according to Oleson, Sherwood and Sidebotham[53].

2.2.3. Conclusion

In summary, the four lamps found at Asardibi belong to well known and stratified types from other sites. Unlike the situation with the two-handled cups discussed above, the distribution of the lamp forms occurred much faster, possibly due to the existence of extensive trade. The lamp forms appear and develop almost simultaneously in all the main centers of the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, the Asardibi lamps can be dated securely in accordance with the published parallels. The lamps would suggest a continuous sequence of occupation from the late fifth century B.C. to the first century A.D. for the site Asardibi. However they cannot be associated with any specific manufacturing centers.

2.2.4. Catalogue

L12 FIG.12.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/3 (PLATE 2:1)

Lamp. Wheel-made. Complete. Well-fired. Flat base; the bottom rises in the interior into a markedly convex hump; smooth and curved inner wall; the outer wall is basically in two planes of which the lower is short and flat the upper is taller and very slightly curved; there is a groove around the rim; the inner side of the rim slopes downwards with its peak opposite outer groove; slightly off-centered filling hole; flat-topped long nozzle, presenting a slightly concave profile, the top surface of the nozzle slants downward toward the rounded nozzle tip; no traces of smoke-blackening; tool mark of 0.007 m long below the nozzle. Max. h. 0.025; Max. diam. 0.051; Filling hole max. diam. 0.03.; Nozzle hole max. dimensions 0.012X0.01; brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) fabric; no glaze remains.

Type: Blegen et al. 1964: type IV; Broneer 1977: Type IV; Howland 1958: type 30A; Jones 1950: group VIII.

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[50]M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos* 1926-1932 *Vol* I (Paris 1939).

[51]J. Oziol and J. Pouilloux, *Salamine de Chypre,* I. *Les Lampes* (Paris 1969).

[52]Oleson, J.P., Fitzgerald, M.A., Sherwood, A.N., Sidebotham, S.E., *Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project 1980-85. Vol* II: *The Finds and the Ship* BAR 594 (Oxford 1994).

Parallels: Bailey 1975: nos. 77 (Cypriot)-155 (Ephesian) for rim only, 371 for rim, base and profile only, 378 for rim, profile and base only (Rhodian) 497-498 for profile and rim only (Cypriot); Blegen et al. 1964: no. 474-4 (fig 19. pl.100); Broneer 1977: no. 58 for profile and base only; Bruneau 1970: no. 31 for base and rim only, no. 178 for rim only; Howland 1958: no. 418 for the base, profile of the sides and flat rim only; Singer-Avitz 1989: no. 9 (p.132 fig. 9.11) for the profile and rim only.

Origin: Mainland Greece?

Date: late fifth to late third century B.C.

L13 FIG.13.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/4 (PLATE 2:1)

Lamp. Wheel-made. Complete, except for nozzle tip. Well-fired. Flat, eroded base; flat inner base; angular walls with a corner point as high as the half of that of the end point at lip; slightly depressed top, to about 0.003m below the highest level of the walls; round filling hole at the center; flat-topped, medium-sized nozzle, presenting convex profile, the top surface slanting very slightly downwards, blunted nozzle tip on its surviving corner; although there is a color change towards the nozzle tip, it is not clear if the lamp was burnt or not. The abraded surfaces in the sea water makes it difficult to tell whether the traces on one shoulder belonged to a lug or to an indistinct knob. Max. h. 0.029; Max. diam. 0.063; Max. filling hole diam. 0.021.; Yellow (10YR 7/6) fabric, yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) at the nozzle tip; no glaze remains.

Type: Baur 1947: Type V:c; Howland 1958: type 34-34A; Jones 1950: group ll; Stillwell 1941: type ll a-b.

Parallels: Baur 1947: no. 224; Bruneau 1970: no. 44 for shape, base and profile only; Hellstrom 1965: no. 33 for shape and the groove around the filling hole only; Howland 1958: no. 452 for base, angular profile and nozzle only no. 464 for rim and filling hole only; Jones 1950: no. 5 for base, rim and angular profile only, nos. 9-10 for base and rim only; (Antioch lll): nos. 32-33 for profile only.

Origin: Eastern Mediterranean or Attic.

Date: third quarter of third century B.C. - mid-second century B.C.

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[53]Ibid. .

L14 FIG. 14.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM INVENTORY NUMBER: 17/26/82 (PLATE 2:2)

Lamp. Complete. Wheel-made in two parts. Raised base, rising to about 0.005 m towards the center, concave beneath; ring foot flattened on its outer surface, the juncture with the outer wall is marked by a distinct groove; the bottom rises on the interior into a peaked hump; angular wall starting from the groove separating the wall from the ring foot with a shallow groove at the carination; rim set off from the sloping side by a deeper and more distinct groove; the top of the lamp is depressed inwards to form a flat, 0.005 m wide circle (parallel to the base-line) around the filling hole; long nozzle, flat on top, blunted at the end. Nozzle presents a convex profile and raises above the height of the rim. Pierced lug on the side. Smoke-blackened, inside nozzle and around its tip. Max. h. 0.035; Max. diam. 0.067; Max. filling hole diam. 0.021. Reddish yellow (5YR 6.6) fabric. No glaze remains.

Type: Baur 1947: Type II, Group 1; Broneer 1942: type IX and XII; Broneer 1977: type IXA; Howland 1958: type 32, and except for the base, type 29B; Jones 1950: group II.

Parallels: Bailey 1975: nos. 385-389-391-393-396-398-399 for nozzle, angular profile and pierced lug only (Rhodian); Baur 1947: no. 4 for profile and base only; Broneer 1977: no. 203 for nozzle and rim only, 204 for nozzle, rim and angular profile only; Bruneau 1970: nos. 35-235 for nozzle, filling hole and pierced lug only; Crowfoot 1957: no. D1269 (fig 85 no. 6) angular body and pierced lug only; Hellstrom 1965: no. 20 for the groove at the inner edge of the shoulder, pierced lug, angular profile only; Howland 1958: nos. 425-426-429 for nozzle, pierced lug and angular profile only; Thompson 1948: no. L4370 for general shape, nozzle, and pierced lug only.

Origin: Undetermined.

Date: early third to mid-second century B.C.

L15 FIG.15.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/5 (PLATE 2:3)

Lamp. Incomplete. Nozzle, bridge and part of the body preserved; spade-shaped, flat-topped nozzle with flat bridge to the disk; short, well-defined volutes of degenerate form along both sides of the nozzle; well-fired;

Smoke-blackened, dark gray inside nozzle and around its tip. Max. pres.h. 0.03; Max. pres.l. 0.1; Est. max. diam. 0.09. Yellowish brown (10YR 5/4-5/6) fabric, dark grayish brown inside (10YR 4/2).

Type: Broneer 1977: type XXIII; Jones 1950: group VI; Robinson 1959: group G; Stillwell 1941: type 17; Thompson 1933: type XX.

Parallels: Broneer 1977: nos. 2374-2386 for nozzle, bridge and volutes only; Dunand 1939: nos. 1309, 6509 for volutes only, no. 6060 for volutes and nozzle only; Jones 1950: no. 56 for volutes and nozzle only; Oleson et al. 1994: no. L23 for volutes and nozzle only; Oziol and Pouilloux 1969: no. 111 for volutes and nozzle only; Perlzweig 1961: no. 111 for nozzle and volutes only; Robinson 1959: nos. 154-155 for volutes and nozzle only; Stillwell 1941: nos. 56- 96-101 for volutes and nozzle only; Thompson 1933: no. 42 for nozzle and volutes only.

Origin: Italian, Cypriot or Knidian.

Date: first century B.C. - first century A.D.

2.3. Type 3: Bowls

2.3.1. Introduction

The bowls found at Asardibi include examples of different forms and sizes. Although each of the bowls represents an individual type, most have exact parallels in other sites. **B 16** and **B 18**, especially, are very widespread forms in the Eastern Mediterranean. Since the forms were found in quantities in other sites on Western Anatolian coast, there is little difficulty in relative dating.

2.3.2. Analysis

In the Sigillata series, the form of **B 16** corresponds to the Form 17 "campanulate cup with vertical rim" which dates to the second decade of the first century B.C. or later. Two bowls from Pergamon[54], N39b and N40, matches the profile of **B 16**. These parallels, and especially N40, are dated to the second half of the first century B.C. into the second century A.D. on the basis of context. In Hama[55] (where the goblets of this type are called 'kalathoi') parallels are dated to the Augustan Period (27 B.C. - 14 A.D.). It is also mentioned in the Pergamon publications that bowls of this type were found as imports from Olbia and

[54]C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, *Die Pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen Band* 6 (Berlin 1988).

Athens where they were produced in the first half of the first century A.D.[56] Parallels found in the Athenian Agora[57] are dated to the Tiberian and Claudian Periods (14-54 A.D.) In addition, undated parallels of **B 16** are also found in Sultantepe[58], and in Samaria[59].

B 17 is a kantharos with no exact parallels. However, a bowl with the same profile appears in Cyprus publications[60], dated to the Hellenistic I period of Cyprus (325-150 B.C.). On the other hand, Slane[61], who studied and dated the exact parallel of **B17** found in Serçe Limanı to the first century A.D., after a parallel identified in the Black Sea, argues that the Black Sea parallel is the only one that matches the profile and the decoration on the handle. One similar bowl found in Pergamon[62] is a quite close parallel of **B17**. This bowl is dated from the second century B.C. into the beginning of the first century A.D. However, the typological development of the form continues into the third quarter of the first century A.D. The interesting point here is that Meyer-Schlichtmann[63] notes that the bowl S8 has no parallel in other sites except for a bowl having a similar general shape found in Priene, and imported from Pergamon. In summary none of the bowls similar to S8 were dated earlier than the last quarter of the second century B.C. and the end of the form is the end of the first quarter of the first century B.C. The period of common use seems to be the beginning of the first century B.C. The dating and definition of the provenience for this bowl seems to be very speculative, and the dated parallels available are unfortunately insufficient to make any secure suggestions.

B 18, B 19, and **B 20** represent a very common form, referred to as drinking bowls with recurved handles. They are distributed throughout the Mainland Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, and are recovered in all the excavations of the major sites. Therefore, there is a consensus about the chronology and

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[55]A.P. Christiensen et C.F. Johansen, *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg* 1931-1938, III-2, *Les Poteries Hellenistiques et les Terres Sigillees Orientales* (Copenhague 1971).

[56]C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, *Die Pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen Band* 6 (Berlin 1988) 114.

[57]H. S. Robinson, *Agora* V., *Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology* (Princeton 1959).

[58]S. Lloyd, "Sultantepe (Part II)," *AnatSt* Vol IV (1954).

[59]J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria* (London 1957).

[60]O. Vessberg and A. Westholm, *SwCyprusExp* 4.3. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus* (Lund 1956).

[61]D.A. Slane, The History of The Anchohrage at Serce Liman, Turkey (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981).

[62]C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, *Die Pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen Band* 6 (Berlin 1988).

[63]Ibid., 69.

the development of the form. The fragmentary bowls **B 19** and **B 20** can be classified together with **B18,** on the basis of the handle form and the extant profile attached to the handle.

Thompson[64] dates the parallel bowls of D 17 and D 18 from the Athenian Agora, to the third century B.C. However, the development of the form starts from the first examples of the second century B.C. in the Athenian Agora[65]. Parallel bowls from the Athenian Agora are grouped under Group F and dated to the last three quarters of the first century B.C. A later example, G 52, with thicker handles closer to the rim, but a similar profile is dated to the first century A.D. In Pergamon[66], and in Benghazi-Berenice[67] the form is described as a common Aegean Type, probably from Knidos or Kos regions, that occurs from the second century B.C. until the beginning of the first century B.C. In Samaria[68], one exact parallel is dated from the mid-second into the last quarter of the second century B.C. In Tarsus[69], a fragment of this type of bowl, with horizontal recurved handle attached to it was found in the Top Level Hellenistic Unit, that reaches its final stage in ca. 175 B.C. However, the destruction level dated this particular bowl to 146 B.C. In Labraunda[70] bowls with the same profiles and bases but without handles, and handles attached to the body fragments like **B 19** and **B 20**, are found in Hellenistic contexts. In Corinth[71], similar bowls with recurved handles are dated to ca. 175 B.C. and two other examples from Corinth[72] are dated from the mid-first century A.D. into the second century A.D. after their finding places. There are parallels in Knossos[73], defined as 'Koan' bowls according to their fabric and dated to the Augustan Period (27 B.C.-14 A.D.).

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[64]H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934).

[65]H. S. Robinson, *Agora* V., *Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology* (Princeton 1959).

[66]C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, *Die Pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen Band* 6 (Berlin 1988) 64.

[67]J. A. Riley, "The Coarse Pottery from Benghazi," in G. Barker, A. Bonnano, J. A. Lloyd, J. A. Riley eds., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), 2. Libya Antiqua* 5.2, Suppl. (Tripoli 1979) 91-465

[68]J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste lll: The Objects from Samaria* (London 1957).

[69]H. Goldman ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* I. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Section 6: F.F. Jones, "The Pottery" (Princeton 1950).

[70]P. Hellstrom, *Labraunda* II:1, *Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass* (Lund 1965).

[71]G. R. Edwards, *Corinth* VII, Pt. 3: *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery* (Princeton 1975).

[72]C. K. Williams, "Corinth 1976: Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 40-81.

[73]J. W. Hayes, "Four Early Roman Pottery Groups from Knossos," *BSA* 66 (1971) 249- 75.

Parallels are dated to the second quarter of the first century A.D. in Perachora[74]. Similar bowls were also found in Priene[75].

2.3.3. Conclusion

In summary, the bowls found in Asardibi seem to be deposits of different periods. Bowl **B 18** and therefore bowls **B 19** and **B 20** are part of a common type in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. The type first appears in the third century contexts but Riley[76] notes that it is a form of Koan or Knidian origin, that started in the second century B.C. and became very popular in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean in time. Hayes[77] also notes the Koan origin of the form. The continuation of the form into the second century A.D. in Corinth shows its popularity in Mainland Greece.

Bowl **B 16** dates to the second half of the first century B.C. into the second century A.D. after the parallels in other sites. This form gives a rather secure date, as the period during which it was produced is rather limited. However it is not possible to guess for how long its local production continued.

2.3.4. Catalogue

B 16 FIG.16.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 24/26/82 (PLATE 3:1)

Bowl. Complete, a few minor breaks on the rim. Well-fired. Wheel-made. Bowl with campanulate body; the walls turn with a considerably sharp curve above the foot; 0.018 cm below the concave vertical rim; convex moldings on the rim; ring foot; raised base;. Bowl slightly concreted, concretions cleaned, no paint remains. Max. h. 0.059; Max. diam. 0.118; Foot diam. 0.05. Yellowish red (5YR 4/6 - 5/6) fabric.

Type: Christiensen and Johansen 1971: Form 23; Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988: Group 4; (sigillata): subform 17-1.

Parallels: Christiensen and Johansen 1971: nos. 23.14, 23.24a, 23.26 for rim and profile only; Crowfoot et al. 1957: D 960 for rim only; Lloyd 1954: fig 1: 1 for similar rim and profile only, 2 for similar rim only, 3

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[74]R. A. Tomlinson, "Perachora: The Remains Outside the Two Sanctuaries," *BSA*, 64 (1969) 155-258.

[75]T. Wiegand und H. Shrader, *Ergebrisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren* 1895-1898, (Berlin 1904).

[76]J. A. Riley, "The Coarse Pottery from Benghazi," in G. Barker, A. Bonnano, J. A. Lloyd, J. A. Riley eds., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), 2. Libya Antiqua* 5.2, Suppl. (Tripoli 1979) 91-465

[77]J. W. Hayes, "Four Early Roman Pottery Groups from Knossos," *BSA* 66 (1971) 249- 75.

for similar general shape only; Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988: Nos. N39b, N40 for rim, base, and profile only; Ozgan 1994: fig 18; (for similar profiles see) Robinson 1959: no. G28 for rim only and G74 for rim and body only.

Origin: Undetermined.

Date: Second half of the first century B.C. - second century A.D.

B 17 FIG.17.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/1 (PLATE 3:2)

Bowl. Broken, 1/4 of the body and one handle missing. Interior concreted. Well-fired. Wheel-made. flat, thick base; concave walls curving above the base and tapering straight through the rim; handle attached vertically on straight wall; handle has a 'knucklebone' or knob-like decoration fixed on top of the preserved handle; there are wheel grooves below handle at the most curved part of the body, probably for decorative purposes. Max. h. 0.104; Max. diam. 0.118. Strong Brown (7.5YR 5/6) fabric.

Type: Unidentified.

Parallels: Wessberg and Westholm 1956: no. 19 for profile and handle only; Meyer - Schlichtmann 1988: no. S8 for the profile, handle shape, handle attachment, and handle decoration only ; Slane 1981: no. AS90 for the profile, handle form, and handle decoration only.

Origin: Pergamon?

Date: 325 B.C. (OR) second century B.C.- first century A.D.

B 18 FIG.18.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/2 (PLATE 3:3)

Bowl. Broken ; 3/4 of the body and attachment of one handle extant. Wheel-made. Well-fired. Shallow bowl with tall upper wall inclined slightly inward; rim slightly eroded; one horizontal handle attachment which possibly hold a recurved handle; raised base; low base ring. Max. estim. diam. 0.19; Max. h. 0.085. Brown (10YR 5/3) fabric.

Type: Robinson 1959: Group F.

Parallels: Crowfoot et al. 1957: no. D46 for profile, base and handles only; Edwards 1975: p. 94 (ca 175 B.C.); Goldman 1950: no. 554 for profile, shape, handles and base only; Hayes 1971: Fig 8.8 and fig. 15.24 for profile, handles and base only; Hellstrom 1965: nos. 354, 356 for profile only, nos. 340 and 339 for handles and handle attachments only; Riley 1979: no. 617 (fig 110) for profile, handles and base only; Robinson 1959: no. F29 and F30 for shape, profile, base and handles only, G51 for profile and base only; Thompson 1934: nos. D17-18 for profile, handles and base only; Tomlinson 1969: nos. 7 and 8 for profile and handles only; Wiegand and Schrader 1904: no. 134; Williams 1976: nos. 38 and 39 for profile, handles and base only.

Origin: Knidos or Kos ?

Date: third century B.C. - second century A.D.

B 19 FIG.19.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/19

Bowl with incurved handles. Broken, only one handle and part of the body and rim attached to the handle extant; the outer part of the handle is bent upward at the outer extremity of the loop, and over itself; wall inclining inwards just below the handle attachment; well-fired; probably belonged to the type of bowls like 95.A/2. Max. estim. diam. 0.17. Light brown (7.5YR 6/4) fabric.

B 20 FIG.20.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/20

Bowl with incurved handles. Broken, only one handle and part of the body and rim attached to the handle extant; outer part of the handle bent upward at the outer extremity of the loop, and over itself; wall inclining inwards just below the handle attachment; tool or finger marks occurred during the folding of the handle visible; well-fired, probably belonged to the type of bowls like 95.A/2. Max. estim diam. 0.19. Reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) fabric; there is a very small fragment of slip remain below the handle of purplish black color (no Munsell available).

Type: Robinson 1959: Group F.

Parallels: J.W. and G.M. Crowfoot and Kenyon 1957: D46 for the handle form and profile only; Edwards 1975: see P. 94 for the general form, handle form and the profile only; Hayes 1971: figs. 8.8 and 15.24 (Koan) for the handle form and profile only; Hellstrom 1965: nos. 356 and 354 for the general form only; Riley 1979: Fig 110-617 for handle form, profile and general form only; Robinson 1959: nos. F30, G52 for profile, handle form, and general form only; Thompson 1934: nos. D17-18, E52-53 for profile, handle form, and general form only; Tomlinson 1969: figs. 30.7-8 for the general form only; Williams 1977: nos. 38, 39 for the handle form, profile and the general form only.

Origin: Knidos or Kos ?

Date: From 3rd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.

2.4. Type 4: Unguentarium

2.4.1. Introduction

Fusiform unguentaria are small, handleless bottles with a bulging body tapering into a narrow stem and a narrow neck. A single example, **U 21**, was collected for the Asardibi sample. Within the category of unguentaria it conforms basically to the 'spindle form', that can be considered as part of the standard pottery repertoire of the Hellenistic era[78]. Unguentaria (made out of clay, glass, silver, gold, alabaster, onyx and lead) were once were thought to be tear-bottles, in which the relatives or hired mourners at the funeral collected their tears to place them among the grave goods. It is now known that unguentaria were used to contain costly oils, perfumes, maybe silphium, honey, vinegar and garum for medicines, and the like. In date they coincide fairly exactly with the Hellenistic period. They occur both at settlements and in tombs, where they occur in large numbers, occasionally up to a hundred at one single burial, but usually just one or two. The origin of the shape is disputed. Thompson suggests Syria, Westholm Egypt as the home of the type, but there is no good evidence for either. In any case, its origin go back to the fourth century B.C. when it replaced the lekythos[79].

[78]S. Dyson, *Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report* IV *Part* I *Fascicle* 3: *The Commonware Pottery, The Brittle Ware* (New York 1968) 8.

[79]Ibid.

2.4.2. Analysis

According to the chronology of Anderson-Stojanovic[80], variations of the fusiform shape characterized by a tall foot and smaller body cavity appear in Greece by the late fourth or the early third century B.C. Thompson's[81] unguentaria, which parallel **U 21**, were found in a well dated to this period. The unguentarium from Asardibi, **U 21**, has a cavity depth of about 9.8 cm from the rim, and fits into the category of the unguentarium with a tall and solid foot. This category is described by Anderson-Stojanovic[82] as "plump or angular bodies, and solid stemmed feet of varying height". The unguentaria in this category are dated to the Hellenistic period and tend to have a more cylindrical body shape with a narrower interior cavity. In the Ontario Museum publication[83] a similar unguentarium is included in "Aegean and Italian fusiform series" and dated to the early to mid-third century B.C. And it is noted that this type is seen in Cyprus in second century B.C. contexts. In Dura-Europos[84], good parallels for **U 21** (especially no. 20), date to the late third into the early second century B.C. In Labraunda[85], the fusiform unguentaria are dated to the early to mid second century after the parallels in Gordion, Athens and Cyprus. There are also parallels for **U 21** in Sultantepe[86], Benghazi-Berenice[87], Byblos[88] and Samaria[89] always in Hellenistic contexts.

2.4.3. Conclusion

In brief, **U 21**, is a typical Hellenistic unguentarium, of a type usually dated early in the first half of the third and second centuries B.C. in other sites. It seems likely that the fusiform unguentaria lost their popularity with the appearance of the bulbous Roman unguentarium types by the late first century B.C[90].

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[80]V. R. Anderson-Stojanovic, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," *AJA* 91 (1987) 105-122.

[81]H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934).

[82]V. R. Anderson-Stojanovic, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," *AJA* 91 (1987) 107.

[83]J. W. Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto 1976).

[84]S. Dyson, *Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report* IV *Part* I *Fascicle* 3: *The Commonware Pottery, The Brittle Ware* (New York 1968).

[85]P. Hellstrom, *Labraunda* II:1, *Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass* (Lund 1965).

[86]S. Lloyd, "Sultantepe (Part II)," *AnatSt* Vol IV (1954).

[87]J. A. Riley, "The Coarse Pottery from Benghazi," in G. Barker, A. Bonnano, J. A. Lloyd, J. A. Riley eds., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, 2. *Libya Antiqua* 5.2, Suppl. (Tripoli 1979) 91-465.

[88]M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos* 1926-1932 *Vol* 1 (Paris 1939).

[89]J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria* (London 1957).

[90]V. R. Anderson-Stojanovic, "The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria," *AJA* 91 (1987) 107.

2.4.4. Catalogue

U 21 FIG.21.

SURVEY 1982/ MUSEUM CATALOGUE NUMBER: 23/26/82 (PLATE 3:4)

Unguentarium. Complete. Fusiform or spindle shaped, broad-bellied piriform (rounded) body tapering down to a narrow disk base, and up to a small hooked rim. Max. h. 0.012; Max. diam. 0.045; Rim diam. 0.024; Hole diam. 0.009. Dark red (2.5YR 3/6) fabric.

Type: Anderson-Stojanovic 1987: form 2.

Parallels: Crowfoot et al., 1957: fig 178; Dunand 1939: 6544; Dyson 1968: no. 20; Hayes 1976: p. 174; Hellstrom 1965: nos. 165-191-185; Lloyd 1954: fig 1: 49-50; Mikulcic 1973: fig. 40 nos. 4-6; Riley 1979: no D 685; Thompson 1934: nos. A64, B6, C76.

Origin: Aegean, Syrian or Egyptian.

Date: Late fourth century B.C. - mid second century B.C. [Early Hellenistic]

2.5. Type 5: Jugs

2.5.1. Introduction

The eight jugs discovered at Asardibi belong to several different forms. They are here grouped under four sub-types: ***a*** one-handled jugs (or lagynoi): **J 22** and **J 23**; ***b*** two-handled jugs (or amphoriskoi): **J 24** and **J 25**; *c* trefoil-mouth jugs (oinochoe): **J 26**, **J 27** and **J 28**; ***d*** small closed vessel: **J 29**. All jugs from Asardibi are fragmentary and in most cases only the necks and handles are extant. Therefore, only the extant parts can be taken into consideration for the parallels. It is therefore difficult to find exact parallels, which will thus be general rather than specific. I also assume that there might have been local variations in forms, and it should not be taken for granted that the missing parts of Asardibi jugs could be restored according to similar jugs from other sites.

2.5.2. Analysis

a one handled jugs (or lagynoi):

Lagynoi are a type of independent restricted vessel with complex contours[91]. According to Thompson[92], the lagynos served as a wine decanter in festive occasions and although a similar shape had occurred sporadically much earlier, the form is one of those most peculiar to the Hellenistic period: a squat body, sometimes round (as **J 22**), sometimes sharply angular surmounted by a tall cylindrical neck with thickened lip and with a vertical handle. Leroux[93] concluded that lagynoi began to be made toward the end of the third century and were still in common use in the middle of the first century B.C. Twisted handles are a common characteristic of this Hellenistic pottery.

The first of the jugs **J 22**, is a local variation of the well-known lagynos type at other sites. A lagynos (no. D 30) published by Thompson[94], has a very similar neck, shoulder and handle, and is dated to sometime between the end of the fourth century B.C. and the end of the second century B.C. Another Hellenistic jug with a very similar profile was found in Samaria[95] (form 25 no. 1). The Samaria jug also has the same handle as **J 22** with three grooves on its outer side. The last parallel is from Caesarea[96], and is dated from late Hellenistic into the first century A.D. There is one raised and angular handle fragment with three grooves found in Hama[97] and included in the Hellenistic and Roman Pergamon series. The category that is referred to as 'Roman Pergamene Jug' in Cyprus[98] includes jugs that have very similar neck and handle profiles to **J 22**. In the same publication, Vessberg and Westholm note that angular shoulder line and raised handle are the characteristics of the shape dated - after the parallels at Pergamon -, to the Hellenistic period. The two very similar jugs from Cyprus are dated to different periods according to their glaze. As there is no glaze surviving on **J 22**, I will include both periods: jugs in fig 30 are dated to 50 B.C. to 150 A.D. and nos. 1-3 in fig. 31 are dated to 150-250 A.D.

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[91]A.O. Shepard, *Ceramics for the Archaeologist* (Ann Arbor 1985) 230 fig.22.

[92]H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934).

[93]G. Leroux, *Lagynos* (Paris 1913).

[94]H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934).

[95]J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria* (London 1957).

[96]Oleson, J.P., Fitzgerald, M.A., Sherwood, A.N., Sidebotham, S.E., *Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project 1980-85*. Vol II: *The Finds and the Ship* BAR 594 (Oxford 1994).

[97]A.P. Christiensen et C.F. Johansen, *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg* 1931-1938, III-2, *Les Poteries Hellenistiques et les Terres Sigillees Orientales* (Copenhague 1971).

J 23 is a fragment that conforms better to the definition of 'lagynos' according to the form of its shoulder. The Hellenistic lagynos E 73, published by Thompson[99] parallels exactly the extant part of **J 23**. Similar lagynoi are dated in Cyprus[100] to Hellenistic 1 and Hellenistic 2 periods (from 325 B.C. to 50 B.C.). Many of them were found in tombs of the third century B.C. The Lagynos D30 in Thompson[101], mentioned above for its similarities with **J 22**, and dated to sometime between the end of the fourth century B.C. and the end of the second century B.C., is also similar to **J 23**, especially for the rim and the shape of its neck. Another parallel is published by Schafer[102] and is dated generally to the Hellenistic period. The other non-dated parallels are from Delos[103] and Priene[104].

b two handled jugs (or amphoriskoi):

The closed storage vessels with two handles are referred to as 'amphora' in pottery terminology for the Mediterranean region. However, the jugs bearing the same characteristics as amphora but smaller in size are referred to as 'amphoriskoi' or table amphora; because of their small size **J 24** and **J 25** are to be classified as amphoriskoi.

Some similar jugs with the same rim and neck profile as **J 24** were found in the sigillata series. Pitchers with similar rim profiles were found at Pergamon[105]. The parallel pitchers, Kr 4 and Kr 5, have the same rim profile as **J 24** although they are one handled. Kr 4 is dated to the third quarter of the first century B.C. into the third quarter of the third century A.D. Kr 5 is dated to the first century A.D. within its type which develops from the first century B.C. to the beginning of the second century A.D. Both pitchers are dated after their findspots and represent a local development of the form. Parallels at Caesarea[106] are dated

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[98]O. Vessberg and A. Westholm, *SwCyprusExp* 4.3. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus* (Lund 1956).

[99]H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934).

[100]O. Vessberg and A. Westholm, *SwCyprusExp* 4.3. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus* (Lund 1956).

[101]H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934).

[102]J. Schafer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen Band* 2. (Berlin 1968).

[103]G. Leroux, *Lagynos* (Paris 1913).

[104]T. Wiegand und H. Shrader, *Ergebrisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren* 1895-1898, (Berlin 1904).

[105]C. Meyer-Schlichtmann, *Die Pergamenische Sigillata aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon. Pergamenische Forschungen Band* 6 (Berlin 1988).

[106]Oleson, J.P., Fitzgerald, M.A., Sherwood, A.N., Sidebotham, S.E., *Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project 1980-85*. Vol II: *The Finds and the Ship* BAR 594 (Oxford 1994).

from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. Some jugs found at Benghazi-Berenice[107] in third century A.D. contexts, probably belong to the same type as they represent the same neck and rim profile but different handles (and sometimes no handles at all). In the same publication Riley notes that the form occurs at the kiln site at Sutri from the first quarter of the first century A.D. (Riley 1979: 383). One black glazed one-handled jug with similar neck and rim profile as **J 24** was found at Sultantepe[108]. Therefore we might conclude that the jug **J 24** has a common rim and neck profile characteristic of the Eastern Mediterranean from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. The fact that the Pergamon pitchers represent the local development of the form and the dating of the Pergamon pitchers to an earlier date than the other examples in other sites, makes it possible to suggest Pergamon as the place of origin for this rim type.

J 25 is a small two-handled jug. The flask no. 68 in the A.D. 256 destruction level group in Dura-Europos[109] represents the only parallel that could be identified for **J 25**. Dura Europos was founded in ca. 300 B.C. and destroyed in 256 A.D., and this would be the latest possible date for the flask no. 68. The destruction date of Dura Europos will not be considered as the maximum time limit for this flask since in that case it would be the single example of such a late date. It might be assumed that **J 25** also dates to a period between the fourth century B.C. and the second century A.D. after the majority date of other finds at Asardibi.

c trefoil mouth jugs (oinochoe):

Jugs **J 26**, **J 27**, and **J 28** can be classified as oinochoe or trefoil-mouth jugs according to the form of their rim. However, with the extant parts of especially **J 26** and **J 27** it is quite difficult to suggest a date as even the shoulder form is not known. However, according to the very general characteristics of oinochoe Shape 3 from the Athenian Agora[110], all three trefoil-mouth jugs from Asardibi may be dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.

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[107]J. A. Riley, "The Coarse Pottery from Benghazi," in G. Barker, A. Bonnano, J. A. Lloyd, J. A. Riley eds., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), 2. Libya Antiqua* 5.2, Suppl. (Tripoli 1979) 91-465.

[108]S. Lloyd, "Sultantepe (Part II)," *AnatSt* Vol IV (1954).

[109]S. Dyson, *Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report* IV *Part* I *Fascicle* 3: *The Commonware Pottery, The Brittle Ware* (New York 1968).

[110]B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Agora* XII: *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th,and 4th Centuries B.C.* (Princeton 1970).

d small closed vessel:

The small closed vessel, **J 29**, is a fragmentary piece, missing its neck and rim. It is unfortunately impossible to reconstruct the original profile of this vessel without these two diagnostic parts. However, the general appearance of the vessel resembles a lekythos, a type of ceramic vessel dated in the Athenian Agora to late sixth and fifth centuries. If the missing neck of this vessel was long and narrow, it would represent a local variation of the general lekythos form, with two small handles on the shoulders instead of one vertical handle attached to the neck. But it is not possible to insist on date for **J 29** because of the reasons mentioned above.

2.5.3. Catalogue

J 22 FIG.22.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/11 (PLATE 4:1)

Jug. Wheel-made. Broken; rim, neck, handle and part of the shoulder extant; rim flares on exterior; a raised band on lower exterior of rim separates it from neck; angular, raised handle with three ribs; handle attached at a slight twist to the shoulder. Max. Preserved h. 0.11; max. Preserved l. 0.11; max. Estim. Diam. 0.15. Yellow (10YR 7/6) fabric.

Type: Reisner et al. 1924: Form 25; Vessberg - Westholm 1956: Roman Pergamene Jug.

Parallels: Oleson et al. 1994: no. D30 for rim, neck, handle and shoulder only; Reisner et al. 1924: nos. D353, Q372; Thompson 1934: D30 for the shoulder, shape of the neck and the form of the handle only; Vessberg- Westholm 1956: nos. 18-20 for handle and shoulder only.

Origin: Eastern Mediterranean ?

Date: end of the fourth century B.C. - 250 A.D.

J 23 FIG.23.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/16 (PLATE 4:2)

Lagynos. Wheel-made. Broken; fragment with rim, neck, handle and part of the shoulder extant; tall, cylindrical and tapering neck; lip slightly thickened; handle almost round in section and sharply twisted,

with a deep groove at the inner junction between neck and body; clay has tiny inclusions and the surface is eroded. Max. pres.h. 0.133; Max. pres.l. 0.148. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) fabric.

Type: Undetermined.

Parallels: Schafer 1968: Plate 1 Abb.6 1 and 2 for neck, rim, shoulder and the form of the handle; Thompson 1934: E 73 for neck, rim, handle and shoulder only and no. D30 for rim and the raised handle only; Vessberg-Westholm 1956: fig. 23 no. 3, fig. 28 no. 11 for neck and handle only.

Origin: Asia Minor, perhaps the islands, or Cyprus.

Date: 325 B.C. - Mid-first century B.C.

J 24 FIG.24.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/21 (PLATE 4:3)

Jug. Wheel-made. Broken; fragment of complete rim, neck, two handles and part of the shoulder; rim flares outward almost horizontally and its shape is accentuated by a lower, projecting ridge below the handle attachment; well-fired; wheel-marks on the inside, especially at the junction between the neck and handles; three grooves on handles; one handle is slightly higher than the other. Max. pres.h. 0.168; Max. pres.l. 0.18. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) fabric with white inclusions.

Type: Undetermined.

Parallels: Lloyd 1954: fig 1:55 for the rim only; Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988: Kr4 for neck, rim and handle only, Kr5 for neck, shoulder and rim only; Oleson et al. 1994: D42 for rim and neck only; Riley 1979: D 1167 for neck and rim only, 1138 and 1174 for the development of the rim only.

Origin: Pergamon.

Date: second century B.C. - mid-third century A.D.

J 25 FIG. 25.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/15 (PLATE 4:4)

Amphoriskos. Wheel-made. Broken, only the rim, neck, part of the shoulder, two handles and the decorative attachment on one of the handles extant. Neck with a concave profile, flaring towards rim and shoulder;

decorative rib around rim; raised handles formed of two clay coils attached to each other; decorative 'knob' at top of one handle, missing on the other one, 'knob' looks like a volute or 'knucklebone'; surface is pitted; well-fired. Max. pres.h. 0.077; Max. pres.diam. 0.15. Reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) fabric.

Type: Undetermined.

Parallels: Although there are no exact parallels in other sites, one flask with a similar rim is published by Dyson 1968: no. 68 for the rim only.

Origin: Undetermined.

Date: Fourth century B.C. - First half of the third century A.D. ?

J 26 FIG. 26

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/13 (PLATE 4:5)

Oinochoe. Wheel-made. Broken, rim, part of the neck and part of the handle extant. Concave neck widening to a deeply pinched trefoil mouth; plain rim; vertical strap handle, slightly grooved at center. A broken sherd probably from the same jug was 'glued' with concretions to the outer side of the handle. Since the fabric is very fine it was not possible to restore this sherd. Max. pres.h. 0.05; Max. pres.l. 0.079. Very pale brown (10YR 7/4) fabric.

Comments: Type, parallels and origin undetermined due to the absence of diagnostic parts.

Date: Second half of the fourth century B.C..

J 27 FIG.27.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/14 (PLATE 4:5)

Oinochoe. Wheel-made. Broken, neck and most of the rim extant. Narrow neck tapering through shoulder, and flaring through the trefoil shaped rim. Plain rim; a groove on the neck just below the mouth part. Max. pres.h. 0.06; Max. pres.l. 0.065. Pink (7.5YR 7/4) fabric.

Comments: Type, parallels and origin undetermined due to the absence of diagnostic parts.

Date: Second half of the fourth century B.C..

J 28 FIG.28.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/12 (PLATE 4:6)

Oinochoe. Wheel-made. Broken, neck, rim, handle and part of the shoulder extant. Rim grooved at lip and folded through interior; trefoil mouth deeply pinched inwards; strap handle attached from just below the rim, to the shoulder; interior wall thicker at the join between neck and shoulder. Very fine fabric. Max. pres.h. 0.108; Max. pres.l. 0.153. Brown (10YR 5/3) fabric.

Comments: Type, parallels and origin undetermined due to the absence of diagnostic parts.

Date: Second half of the fourth century B.C..

J 29 FIG. 29.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/18 (PLATE 5:1)

Small closed vessel. Wheel-made. Broken; shoulder, two handles, base extant; neck missing; flat base; two loop handles attached parallel to the shoulder; well-fired; profile tapers toward shoulder just above the handles. Max. pres.h. 0.08; Max. diam. 0.081; foot diam. 0.042; handle diam. 0.006. Strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) fabric.

2.6. Type 6: Miscellaneous objects

The miscellaneous objects from Asardibi consist of two pieces that could not be identified clearly, or classified in any of the types listed above. These two objects, **M 30** and **M 31** will be generally described in this section.

The first of these objects, **M 30**, can be described as a miniature footed bowl. No exact parallel for this piece could be identified and therefore no secure date could be suggested. **M 31** is a rather complicated piece. It is the only coarse ware pottery in the group of pottery from Asardibi. However, it is not possible to reconstruct the original form of the object to which the fragment belonged. There is no doubt that it was part of some large vessel, but the form cannot be inferred from the surviving fragment. It might have been part of the base of a big container or cooking pot. It might also be suggested that **M 31** is a fragment of a brazier. In any case, **M 30** and **M 31** seem to be two pieces that do not help with dating nor the identification of the underwater site at Asardibi.

M 30 FIG. 30.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/6 (PLATE 5:2)

Stand. Wheel-made. Complete. Well-fired. Solid flared foot with interior depression; groove around base of rim; outflaring, shallow flaring bowl with plain lip. Max. h. 0.05; Max. diam. 0.067. Yellow (10YR 7/8) fabric.

M 31 FIG. 31.

SURVEY 1995/ FIELD NOTEBOOK NUMBER: 95.A/17 (PLATE 5:3)

Stand (?). Incomplete. Funnel-shaped fragment; thick base with ribs; straight outer and sloping inner wall. Possibly fragment of a stand or a brazier. Medium fired; very porous fabric. Max. pres.h. 0.17; Max. diam. 0.23; dark reddish brown (2.5 YR 3/4) fabric.

2.7. Conclusion to Chapter II

The ceramic finds recovered in the 1982 survey total ten pieces. Seven of those are two-handled cups. Although it was not possible to identify any exact parallels for this group, in general terms this type can be dated to the early fourth century B.C. On the other hand, lamp L14 (early third to mid-second century B.C.), unguentarim U21 (late fourth to mid-second century B.C.), and bowl B16 (first century B.C. to second century A.D.) were dated securely after their parallels at other sites. This study demonstrated that the pottery finds from Asardibi were dated to a period between the fourth century B.C. and the second century A.D.

However, since only three securely dated pieces of pottery were not enough to represent the dating of the underwater site at Asardibi, further survey was necessary. The 1995 survey provided more pottery types and a wider range in period. This new group of pottery, 21 pieces, was dated to a period between the late fifth century B.C. and the third century A.D. In addition, the majority could be seen to cluster around the third, second and first centuries B.C.

During the 1996 survey no artifacts were raised. However quantities of amphora types, pithoi and other fragmentary objects were noted, and the nature of the surveyed material demonstrated that the

underwater site at Asardibi thus represented a harbor debris. The Rhodian amphora type found at Asardibi is the one which was in circulation generally between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.

In conclusion, the pottery finds from Asardibi demonstrated that the underwater site could be securely interpreted as harbor debris. The dating of this pottery revealed that the harbor was in use between the fifth century B.C. and the third century A.D. The concentration of dated material between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. points to the period of most frequent use of this harbor.

Chapter III : Epigraphical Evidence

The Rhodian Peraea and Casara and environs (map 2) are referred to by only a few ancient commentators, namely Ptolemy, Pliny and Strabo. In this chapter, the sections from the written sources where 'the harbor of Casara' is mentioned will be discussed in detail[111].

Ptolemy[112] mentions the site as Κρησσω λιμην in the list of the settlements on the 'Loryma Peninsula' (Book 5, 2: l. 11). Bent mentions in both articles on his discoveries in this region that he takes Ptolemy as guide[113]. The reason for this is that Ptolemy is usually quite careful to enumerate the names of places in proper geographical order. In the list, Κρησσω λιμην is placed between Lwruma (Loryma) and Φοινιξ χωριον (Phoenike or Phoinix). Loryma and Phoinix are located very securely[114] to their actual places shown on map 2. Therefore, the only settlement in between those is *Casara*, the deme that used the harbor (Κρησσω λιμην). As it may be seen clearly on the map, Serçe Limanı (Krhssw limhn) is the only obvious harbor on the east side of the peninsula. Thus the only place to be mentioned as "λιμην" is Serçe Limanı. This statement is confirmed by the interpretations of Pliny's[115] text. Pliny describes Portus Cressa as being just next to Rhodes and at a distance of twenty miles. Therefore there is no doubt that the Portus Cressa is Serçe Limanı according to that description.

In conclusion, on the basis of the descriptions of ancient authors and the epigraphical evidence from neighboring towns, we can locate securely Portus Cressa or Κρησσω λιμην at Serçe Limanı. In addition, Serçe Limanı is a natural harbor which was used by the settlement on the west. This settlement is the Rhodian deme of Casara as the independent epigraphical evidence shows.

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[111]For the information and discussion about the Peraea in general and the topography of the Peraea see above.

[112]Ptolemy, (Claudii Ptolemaei), C.F.A. Nobbe ed., *Geographia* I - II (Leipzig 1966), Lib. V. Cap. 2. #8 and 11. .

[113]J.T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor" *JHS* 9 (1888) 83 and the passage by Bent in E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra" *JHS* 10 (1889) 47.

[114]P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) for the epigraphical evidence from Phoinix, 58, for Loryma 59 - 61.

[115]N.H. v. 104.

3.1. The identification of *Casara*:

Theodore Bent was the first scholar to identify the ruins in the valley between Serçe Limanı and Asardibi as the remains of the ancient city Casara. In the article he published in 1888[116] he mentions a tombstone inscribed with the name of the settlement: *Kasara.*

E.L. Hicks, editing the inscriptions from Bent's impressions, published the Casara[117] inscriptions in 1889. The introduction provided by Bent to introduce Hicks' article includes reports about the findspots of the inscriptions: two inscriptions were found by the ruins of the Byzantine church and the temple, the third inscription on a tombstone, and the fourth on a large stone. Hicks, as a result of his research, found that the ethnic names Κασαρευς, Κασαρις occurred on inscriptions and tombstones in Rhodes, and on a decree of a priest (eranos) of Adonis-worshippers in Loryma. The ethnic name is spelled in different ways, KasareuV or KaisareuV in these inscriptions published by Ross, Holleaux and Diehl, and Hicks. Furthermore, the appearance of the ethnic adjective as Κασαρεατην instead of Κασαρευς on some inscriptions made Hicks think that the name of the town was Kasarea instead of Kasara. The final important point mentioned by Hicks is about the personal names found on the 'Casarea'[118] inscriptions. Hicks infers that these personal names are Rhodian in character as this type of compound name is seen frequently on Rhodian lists and on documents from the Rhodian Peraea. On the other hand, the proper name Casara, is an Anatolian, and infact a Carian, name in character.[119]

3.2. The inscriptions found at Casara.

Since Bent's time, scholars visiting the remains of the ancient city of Casara, known as Asardibi now, have noted many inscriptions on the site. Other inscriptions transported to other locations have been identified and studied as well by these epigraphists. Some of the inscriptions were observed during my visits, however the dating and discussion of the epigraphical evidence, will mainly depend on the information presented in the publications by the epigraphists, namely Hicks, Bresson, and Blumel.

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[116]J.T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor" *JHS* 9 (1888) 82-87.

[117]E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra" *JHS* 10 (1889) 46-50.

[118]Hicks thinks that the proper name should be spelled as Casarea, however the site is referred to as Casara (or sometimes as Kasara). I will use the name as Casara in this thesis.

[119]L. Zgusta, *Beitrage zur Namenforschung*. Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen. Beiheft 21 (Heidelberg 1984).

The Casara inscriptions were published in various publications. However, I have given priority to the most recent publications, as they give a rather detailed study of the inscriptions and they include discussions about the earlier publications. These recent publications are: Bresson 1991 and Blümel 1991. Relevant data from these publications are provided after each inscription discussed. Further epigraphic details will not be discussed in this thesis.

3.2.1. Votive Monument (Hierothyte) dedicated to Eueteriaí

Τίμων Τίμωνος
Ἱεροθυτήσας
Εὐετηρίαι

Description and material: White marble

Findspot: Casara, now in Bozburun but transported to Bozburun in Ottoman times.

Date: Second-Third centuries A.D.

Editors: Chaviaras, no. 43, p. 59; Blümel[120], no. 51; Bresson[121], no. 172.

Translation: Timon, son of Timon, the sacrificing priest for the worship of Eueteria ("Fertility").

Remarks: The inscription is dedicated to the personification of Fertility as a divine personality. The cult of Eueteria is attested on the island of Camiros[122].

3.2.2. Honorific monument dedicated for a foreign couple.

Θεσσαλίας Ἐφ[ε]σίας
[καὶ] τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
αὐτᾶς
Ζήνωνος Σελγέω[ς]
στεφανωθέ[ν]το[ς ὑ]πὸ[123]
Ἀσ[κλα]πι[αστᾶν τ]ῶν
Θε[ωνει]ω[ν] κοινοῦ
θαλλο[ῦ στ]εφάνωι καὶ χρυσέωι

Description and material: White marble; inscription set between two wreaths; dimensions unknown, but possibly part of a sarcophagus.

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[120]W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991) 21.

[121]A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991) 160.

[122]Ibid. 160.

[123]In Bresson this part was read as: στεφ[α]νωθε[ν]τω[ν υ]πο

Findspot: Casara.

Date: First quarter of the first century B.C[124].

Editors: Hicks 1889, no. 4, p. 49-50; Chaviaras 1913, no. 87, p. 3; Blümel 1991, no. 52, p. 21-22; Bresson 1991, no. 169, p. 158.

Translation: (Monument of) Thessalia, the Ephesian, and of her husband Zenon of Selge, who has been honored by the association of the Asklapiastai [....] with a chaplet and a gold wreath.

Remarks: The personal name Zenon of Selge also occurs on an inscription found at Rhodes[125], where Zenon of Selge appears on a famous document bearing two decrees as the benefactor of a Rhodian association (Αφροδισιαται Ερμογενειοι). On the Asardibi inscription, Zenon of Selge is associated with another local religious association (Ασκλαπισται). Therefore it is possible to suggest that the same Zenon was a person who was involved in these kinds of associations. The inscription was placed between two wreaths. These two wreaths on the marble fragment represent the two wreaths Zenon received, as mentioned in the inscription.

Funerary Inscriptions:

3.2.3. Funerary inscription on statue base for Peisianaktos.

.....Κασαρεάτην Πεισιάνακτος
[καθ' ὑοθεσία]ν δὲ Ἀγεστράτου

Description and material: White marble; base of an honorific statue.

Findspot: Casara, inscription said to be found 'below' the city of Casara[126].

Date: Second half of the third century B.C[127].

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 53, p.22; Bresson 1991, no. 167, p.155-156; Hicks 1889, no. 2, p.49.

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[124]Blumel gives a rather general date: Hellenistic (Blumel 1991: 22). W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

[125]A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991) 158-159.

[126] E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra" *JHS* 10 (1889) 49. It is also mentioned that Bent dug underneath the inscribed stone to see if there was any trace of a tomb; but none was found.

[127]The dating provided here is made by Bresson (A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991) 158-159). Blümel gives a rather general date: Hellenistic (Blümel 1991: 22). W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

Translation: Peisianaktos the Casaran from the adopted son of Hagestratos.

Remarks: The beginning of this inscription is illegible or very difficult to read, as mentioned especially by Hicks and Bresson. The editors have tried, however to interpret the beginning. As these discussions are long and detailed, I will just mention that the restoration of the beginning is not sure and the function of the inscription is not clear[128].

3.2.4. Funerary inscription for the wife and daughter of Hagenax.

.... γυνὰ δε Ξενοφάνευς
Ξ]ενοφά [νευς]
μάτηρ κα]ὶ θυγάτηρ κεῖνται δύο ᾽αώριαι ᾽άδη[ν],
[ἃ μὲν β]ελτίστα, ἃ δὲ ποθεινοτάτ[α]

Description and material: White marble; fragment framed with cornice and garlands.

Findspot: Casara.

Date: Fourth century B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 55, p.23-24[129]; Bresson 1991, no. 162, p.154-155; Chaviaras 1911, no. 41, p.58-59.

Translation: [...], wife of Xenophanes, [..., daughter of] Xenophanes. Both mother and daughter lie here together prematurely, the one excellent, the other greatly lamented.

Remarks: Bresson suggest the translation of ποθεινοτατα as 'very lovely' or 'very much loved', after some parallel inscriptions elsewhere[130].

3.2.5. Funerary inscription for Apollodotos.

῾Αγένακτος ᾽Απόλλοδοτο[ς] τειδεὶ κατάκειται,
ἀθάνατον πένθο[ς π]ατρί, [φ]ίλοις δὲ πόθος.
Κτ[ησι]φῶν ῾Αγήνα[κ]τος

Description and material: Limestone

[128]For a summary of the discussions about the interpretaitons of the beginning see: A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991) 156.

[129]For the full list of the editors see: W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

[130]A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991) 155.

Findspot: Casara

Date: First half of the fourth century B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 54, p.23[131]; Bresson 1991, no. 160, p.153-154; Chaviaras 1911, no. 40, p. 58.

Translation: Apollodotos, son of Hagenax, lies here, to the eternal grief of his father and lament of his friends. [Dedicated by] Ktesiophon, son of Hagenax.

3.2.6. Funerary inscription for Hagenax.

ʿΑγησάνδρου ʿΑγήνακτο[ς]
Κασαρέως

Description and material: Marble.

Findspot: Casara, from a monolithic stepped pyramidal tomb: the inscription is upon the lowest step[132].

Date: First half of the third century B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 55, p.23-24[133]; Bresson 1991, no. 162, p.154-155; Chaviaras 1913, no. 85, p. 2-3; Hicks 1889, no. 1, p. 49.

Translation: Hagenax, son of Hagesandros, from Casara.

Remarks: Inscription no. 2.5. (above) already mentioned a certain Hagenax in Casara. However according to the epigraphical dating of these inscriptions, the two Hagenaces in these inscriptions cannot be identical. On the other hand it is possible that they belonged to the same family.

3.2.7. Fragment of sarcophagus of Damas from Lycia and his family.

Δαμᾶ Λυκάονος
καὶ τᾶς γυναικὸς
Ἀντιοχίδος Ἀντιοχίσσας
καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Δαμᾶ Κώου.

Description and material: White marble; inscription decorated with cornice and garlands.

[131]For the full list of the editors see: W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

[132] E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra" *JHS* 10 (1889) 49.

[133]For the full list of the editors see: W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

Findspot: Casara.

Date: Third - second centuries B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 57, p.24-25[134]; Bresson 1991, no. 167, p.157; Chaviaras 1913, no. 82, p. 1; Shear 1913, no. 3, p. 34.

Translation: Damas the Lycian, husband of Antiochis from Antioch and father of Damas of Cos.

Remarks: As quoted in Bresson[135], Morelli suggests that Damas is the name of a Lycian slave who married a woman from Antioch in Pisidia, who had the name Antiochis. The name Damas is attested at Cos, where it has been found on inscriptions. In this inscription the ethnic background of the father is given for the son. Contradicting Morelli's argument, the design, material and the decoration of the funerary monument implies that we are dealing with people from a high social level, and definitely not slaves but maybe freedmen.

3.2.8. Funerary inscription of a Casaran.

Δαμαστράτου
Πυθοδώρου
Κασαρέως

Description and material: Dark marble

Findspot: Casara. Now in Syme; was transported in Ottoman times where the Chaviaras brothers saw it.

Date: First half of the third century B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 58, p. 25; Bresson 1991, no. 163, p.155; Chaviaras 1913, no. 81, p. 1.

Translation: ...of Damastratos, son of Pythodoros, from Casara.

3.2.9. Funerary inscription for Nikomacha

Νικομάχα Μικίωνος
Ἀριστοφύλου γυνά

Description and material: Unknown

Findspot: Unknown

[134] For the full list of the editors see: W. Blümel, *Die* Inschriften *der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

[135] A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991) 157.

Date: Third-second centuries B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 59, p. 25[136].

Translation: Nikomaka, daughter of Mikion, wife of Aristophilos.

3.2.10. Funerary inscription for Sodamos.

Σοδάμου [...]Λ[...]ΔΑ[...]ΑΣ Δωσιό[υ] [137]

Description and material: Unknown.

Findspot: Casara.

Date: Third century B.C.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 60, p. 26; Bresson 1991, no. 161, p.154; Chaviaras 1913, no. 83, p. 2.

Translation: Sodamos [...] Damas [...] of Dosios.

3.2.11. Funerary inscription for Timapolis.

Τιμαπόλιο[ς]
Ἱέρωνος

Description and material: Dark marble; column base (Hicks) or altar base (Bresson)[138].

Findspot: Casara.

Date: Hellenistic.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 61, p. 26[139]; Bresson 1991, no. 166, p.156-157; Chaviaras 1913, no. 84, p. 2; Hicks 1889, no. 3, p. 49.

Translation: ...Timapolis, the priest.

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[136] For the full list of the editors see: W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der* Rhodischen *Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

[137]Bresson reconstructed the final part of the inscription as follows: Δοσιθε[...] (Bresson 1991: 154). A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991)

[138]According to the notes of Bent, Hicks indicated that the inscription was from the 'base of a column', found apparently in situ. However, Bresson thinks that this 'column base' should instead be a rectangular support for a circular altar since there are many parallels for circular altars on rectangular supports in this region of the Peraea (Bresson 1991: 156). A. Bresson, *Recueil des Inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Perée Intégrée)* (Paris 1991)

[139]For the full list of the editors see: W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der* Rhodischen *Peraia* (Bonn 1991).

3.2.12. Funerary inscription for the wife of Pythodoros.

[..... .....]
[γυ]νὰ δὲ Πυθοδώρου.

Description and material: White stone of undetermined type.

Findspot: Casara.

Date: Fourth - third centuries B.C.

Translation: .....Wife of Pythodoros.

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 62, p. 26; Bresson 1991, no. 164, p.155; Chaviaras 1911, no. 42, p. 59.

Remarks: There is another name Pythodoros mentioned in the inscription no. 2.8. However it is difficult to decide whether Pythodoros appearing on the inscriptions is the same person or not. Although it may be possible according to their date that inscription 2.8. mentions the son of Pythodoros and 2.12. his wife, there is no evidence for determining that these inscriptions belonged to a mother and her son. However these inscriptions could indeed belong to members of the same family.

3.2.13. Fragmentary inscription.

ʿΟμονοία[ι

Description and material: Undetermined.

Findspot: Casara.

Date: Hellenistic (Blümel); Roman (Bresson)[140].

Translation: [...] united [...]

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 63, p. 27; Bresson 1991, no. 171, p.159-160; Chaviaras 1913 no. 86, p. 3.

Remarks: Omonoia means oneness of mind, concord, unanimity and is used as united in this context. Omonoew, means agree, live in harmony with. The meaning of the word as used on this inscription is obscure, and depends on the missing part of the inscription.

[140]Blumel dates this inscription on the epigraphic basis to the Hellenistic period. However, Bresson dates it to 81-96 A.D., to the period of Domitian. This dating is based on the presence of the same word Omonoia on an inscription in the neighboring Thyssanous, dedicated to Domitian.

3.2.14. Illegible funerary inscription.

Description and material: Undetermined.

Findspot: Casara. From a tomb at the northern extremity of the valley across the isthmus described above, at the top of the cliff, overlooking the Gulf of Syme[141].

Editors: Blümel 1991, no. 64, p. 27; Bresson1991, no. 170, p.159; Hicks 1889, no. 5, p. 50.

Remarks: Bent mentioned that the letters were 'half Carian and half Greek in form'. However, none of the editors above could identify the letters nor the context of the inscription.

3.3. Conclusion:

The most significant information that the epigraphical evidence provides is actually the name of the site itself. In addition, the dates of the inscriptions support the dates provided by the pottery from Asardibi. In accordance with the pottery evidence, epigraphic evidence yields the period between the fourth century B.C. and the third century A.D. as the period of occupation of Casara. In addition, the intensity noted in the datings of the inscriptions between the third and the first century B.C. also generally fits the period of most frequent use of the harbor of Asardibi, between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. as indicated by the ceramic evidence (see figure). The historical causes of this circumstance will be examined in detail in Chapter V.

The published inscriptions of Casara are, in general, funerary inscriptions. This is to be expected since much of the remains from the city of Casara once belonged to the necropolis. These are: the characteristic 'stepped pyramid' tombstones, other tombstones, and marble fragments of sarcophagi. The most important information achieved from these funerary monuments is the very fact that people of a high level of prosperity and social ranking went to the trouble to erect these in the deme of Casara. The repetition of certain names (e.g. Pythodoros and Hagenax) also suggests the presence of old and continuously resident families. This is another point that supports the presence of a certain elite in the city. The inscription 2.2.

provides further information about the social life. The local association mentioned in this inscription, Asklapista, denotes the presence of a local cult. However, other than the fact that the person mentioned in the inscription was honored, no information about the koine is provided.

The second type of information, provided by the epigraphic evidence, concerns the political affiliation of the city: The word, Κασαρεως[142] on the inscriptions 2.3., 2.6. and 2.8. indicates that the deceased person was a Casaran citizen. Moreover, the inscription 2.1. indicates the practice of the cult of Eueteria, worship of fertility as a divine personality, at Casara. The cult of Eueteria is a Camiran cult and this common practice points to a relationship between Casara and Camiros, suggesting that Casara was a Camiran deme. An inscription honoring a Casaran but found in Camiros also supports this argument. Whether a deme is Incorporated or Subject is deduced from the appearance of demotics on the inscriptions.

On the other hand, Fraser and Bean concluded that Casara was a Lindian deme on the strength of an inscription found in Lindos[143]. The Lindian inscription (dated to the first century B.C.) indicates that a priest of Athena Lindia was the adopted son of a Casaran person. This, according to Bean and Fraser, constitutes clear evidence for Casara to be a Lindian deme[144].

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[141]E.L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydae, Patara, Myra" *JHS* 10 (1889) 50.

[142]The word Kasareathn, appearing on inscription 2.3. is another version of the word still meaning 'Casaran'.

[143]P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 79.

[144] P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954). There will be further discussion about these inscriptions in the chapter about the political context of Casara.

Chapter IV : The Harbors of Casara

4.1. Introduction

"The character of the Mediterranean is complex, awkward and unique. The Mediterranean is not even a *single* sea, it is a complex of seas; and these seas are broken up by islands, interrupted by peninsulas, ringed by intricate coastlines"[145].

The topography, nature and the climate of the Mediterranean Sea has a distinctive importance in the development of the civilizations that bordered it and their cultural interactions. Similarly some aspects of the Mediterranean topography and climate are highly relevant to the study of the site Casara because they place this harbor into a cultural and historical context and bring an explanation to some of its distinctive characteristics. The sea conditions and other factors affecting navigation define the sailing seasons and the nature of navigation, and therefore the sea trade, its characteristics, periods, nature of the merchant vessels and harbors. In this context it is also important to note that the factors mentioned above play an important role in analyzing the size, nature and the function of Casara as a harbor city and the nature and the extent of Casaran trade.

4.2. The climate and the sea conditions of the Eastern Mediterranean

4.2.1. The climate

The Mediterranean 'of the vines and olive trees' exists only in a few narrow coastal strips. This falls very short of the historical Mediterranean, but these zones are of great importance. This climate confined to the coastal strips is also the climate of the waters in between. In a few words, in winter (between September and March) the weather is unsettled: rain and sudden winds agitate the sea. Since this was also the case in Roman times ships were laid up between October and April[146], due to the blowing of severe winter winds: the mistral, noroit or bora[147]. In general between March and September, as soon as the winter

[145]F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip* II, vol. 1, transl, by S. Reynolds (New York and London 1976) 17.

[146]Ibid. 248.

[147]Ibid. 233.

rains are over, the summer season begins. The spring storms might be disastrous, however April is one of the most active months of the year on the sea. On the other hand, the safe months of July and August are the best times for shipping, piracy and war[148].

4.2.2. The sea conditions

4.2.2.1. Wind patterns

The most important sea condition in the Mediterranean is the lack of noticeable tidal changes in the sea level especially at the eastern basin, and the Aegean sea, as part of it. The lack of tidal change also provided excellent conditions for maritime traffic especially in antiquity, when the shipbuilding technology and materials were not as developed as today. This absence of tidal change and the constant currents of considerable velocity give the main dynamic role to the waves[149]. In this case, the wind patterns and their role on the formation of the waves become the most important factor affecting the character and the schedule of maritime traffic.

However, wind patterns in the Mediterranean alternate according to season and geography of the area[150] and they can create several dangers for sailors. The long, dry summer, and especially the storm-free seasons of spring and autumn are the optimal sailing seasons at the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. But cyclones prevent sailing during winter. Vegetius who was speaking from personal experience specified that the sailing season is from 27 May to 14 September, and that the outside limits are 10 March to 10 November[151]. During this short sailing period, Mediterranean winds are prevailing northerly. This is particularly true of the eastern basin[152].

[148]Ibid. 256.

[149]A. Raban, "Minoan and Canaanite Harbors," in *Thalassa*, L'Egée préhistorique et la mer [Aegaeum] (1991) 130.

[150]Ibid. 130.

[151]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 270.

[152]Ibid. 272.

4.2.2.2. Visibility

Not only the severity of winter storms, but also the conditions of visibility effected the character of navigation. During the winter a much greater incidence of cloudiness obscures the sun by day and sky by night, making navigation difficult at an age that did not have the mariner's compass[153]. Orientation was based upon observations of the sky at night, and daytime scanning of the horizon[154]. Mists often veil the cliffs, headlands and mountains. The sight of these from a distance gave skippers fair warning to stay clear during the winter[155].

In conclusion, because of the nature of the climate and the sea conditions in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, sailing was reduced to the absolute minimum during late fall and winter. Only the carrying of basic essentials, the ferrying of urgent supplies, and seaborne military movement that was impossible to delay took place outside the sailing season. All normal activity was packed into summer and a few weeks before and after it.

4.2.3. The climate and the sea conditions of the Aegean

The changeable wave and wind climates proper to the Eastern Mediterranean -as described above- are more significant in the Aegean, with its complicated geography of islands, peninsulas, coastal mountain ranges and wide openings of river valleys[156]. The sailing season is generally confined to the period between May and October when the etesian winds blow regularly from north to south[157]. The etesians are stiff breezes that are active in the Aegean in the sailing season. However even this season is not perfectly secure. The unpredictable character of the Aegean sea and its hostile 'personality' were vividly described by the oldest Greek poets. Homer's *Odyssey*, while being the 'greatest maritime epic' of western civilization, is in

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[153]Ibid. 272.

[154]Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 1.

[155]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 270-272. For the original text of Vegetius about visibility see p. 272.

[156]A. Raban, "Minoan and Canaanite Harbors," in *Thalassa*, L'Egée préhistorique et la mer [Aegaeum] (1991) 130.

[157]F. Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, vol. 1, transl, by S. Reynolds (New York and London 1976) 256; L. Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (London 1994) 150.

fact also a horror story about the fatal dangers and the monstrous perils of sea voyages, within the eastern basin of the Mediterranean[158]. Hesiod, on the other hand, in *Works and Days* (663-691), describes the situation as follows:

"For fifty days, past the summer solstice
and past the end of summer's toilsome part,
men can sail with safety, for then a ship
will not be shattered, and the sea will not wipe out the crew,
unless this is the will of Poseidon who shakes the earth,
or Zeus, king of Gods, wants you destroyed;
both have power over good fortune as well as misfortune.
Then the winds have clear directions and the sea is safe.
Then, free of care, trust the winds
and draw your swift ship to the sea and load it full.
But rush home as soon as you can;
come back before the new wine and the fall rains,
well ahead of winter and the violent gales of the south wind.
This wind trails the great fall rains sent by Zeus
and makes the sea stormy and too rough for sailing.
The second season for sailing comes in spring:
when a man sees the topmost shoot of a fig tree
leaves as large as a crow's footprint,
then he may sail across the sea.
This is the time for spring sailing. I myself do not have
one good word for it - it does not fill my heart with glee.
The whim of chance rule is, and disaster is hard to escape
but men take it up because their minds are foolish.
Man is witless, and his soul is in his pursuit.
The death of those who die among the waves is harsh,
and I ask you not to let my advice go unheeded.
Do not load all your goods on hollow ships;
your cargo should be less than what you leave behind.
The disaster you chance upon at sea is dreadful,.....[159]

[158]A. Raban, "Minoan and Canaanite Harbors," in *Thalassa*, L'Egée préhistorique et la mer [Aegaeum] (1991) 130.

From Hesiod, we may conclude that the sailing season on the Aegean was confined to rather short periods in the early summer (mid April to mid June) and the early fall (from mid August or early September to mid October). The reason for this extra limitation in the Aegean are the northerly winds of July and August[160]. These limited periods so well defined by Hesiod are not without risk of unpredicted blasting winds and sudden storms. There are stiff breezes, prevailing from the north, that are active in the Aegean in the sailing season: the Etesians[161]. "In August they attain such violence that sailing vessels for weeks at a time cannot beat against them but have to tie up behind islands"[162]. Therefore we can conclude that only the transitional periods between the winter "Notos" or the north wind that follows the repetitive cold fronts and passing cyclones during the winter and the constant northwest fresh wind of the mid-summer 'Meltem'[163], are safer and might help square-rigged merchantmen[164] to reach their port of call wherever it might be in the Aegean, the Levant, and various coastal cities en route[165].

4.3. Navigation in the Eastern Mediterranean in antiquity

In antiquity ships did not sail across open water any more than was absolutely necessary. Due to the limitations of hull capabilities and of navigational techniques, the sailing vessels of antiquity had to keep the coast in sight as much as was feasible. The density of islands and proximity of coastlines in the Aegean made these restrictions manageable.

Trade was conducted in two major directions in the Eastern Mediterranean: north-south connecting the Black Sea, Aegean and North Africa; and the east-west connecting the Near East with Greece and beyond (Map 5).

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[159]Hesiodos, *Theogony, Works and Days, Shield.* Introduction, Translation and Notes by A.N. Athanassakis (Baltimore and London 1983).

[160]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 272.

[161]The Etesians are referred as 'summer trade winds' by Casson pointing to their importance in sailing (L. Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (London 1994) 151).

[162]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 273.

[163]The modern Turkish term used to describe Etesians.

[164]The ships were square-rigged until the Middle Ages. The lateen sail is thought to have been discovered in the second century A.D. in the Eastern Mediterranean but it became popular only in the Middle Ages when introduced by the Arabs.

The ships following the north-south route followed the Anatolian coastline and the islands as far as Rhodes. The southern Anatolian coast was used in navigation probably at least as far as Pamphylia; from there ships either sailed south across a short stretch of open sea to Cyprus, or continued east along the coast to Tarsus and Syria and followed the Levantine coast southwards[166].

East-west trade followed any one of three separate routes:

1. Along the North African coast and north to Sicily;

2. To Crete via Cyprus and then north to Mainland Greece;

3. Along the north-south routes mentioned above, as far as Rhodes, then to Greece through the Aegean islands.

4.3.1. Navigation in the Hellenistic period

In addition to the main navigation pattern in the Mediterranean throughout antiquity, some important characteristics of the Hellenistic trade networks created a rather specific network of navigation routes (Map 5). An important occurrence which took place in the Hellenistic period is the specialization in certain forms of production in particular areas. The Hellenistic kingdoms[167] paid tribute to the major powers and in order to afford that, they increased the revenues from their production by specializing in the production and manufacture of certain goods. The trade networks developed further due to this specialization in production and intermediary states such as Rhodes gained power situated fortunately at the midway between the Greek Aegean and the oriental ports of Cyprus, Syria and Egypt.

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[165]A. Raban, "Minoan and Canaanite Harbors," in *Thalassa*, L'Egée préhistorique et la mer [Aegaeum] (1991) 130.

[166]G.M.A. Hanfmann, "Archaeology in Homeric Asia Minor" AJA 52 (1948) 139-140; L. Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (London 1994) 115.

[167]Hellenistic period is a continuation of the earlier developments in society: the development of a few city-states and their dominance over others, is followed by the creation of the 'economic empires' of the Classical period, which ended up with the creation of the political ones, 'kingdoms' of the Hellenistic period (K. Randsborg, "Greek Peripheries and Barbarian Centres - Economic Realities and Cultural Responses," in P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, J. Zahle, and K. Randsborg eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (Aarhus 1993) 87).

4.3.2. Rhodian dominance in seafaring

To understand the trade networks of the Hellenistic period some aspects of the Rhodian trade activities should be examined. At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, commercial enterprise blossomed in Rhodes[168]. This growth continued and in the course of the third century Rhodes became the banker of the Eastern Mediterranean. Rhodian merchants and financiers were found in all the great commercial centers, while the island in turn played host to a growing body of foreign businessmen[169]. Trade, and the wealth it brought, also explain the rise in Rhodian military power.

The scope of the Hellenistic trade can be seen in the distribution of the Rhodian amphora handles. It is no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a site in the Mediterranean where Rhodian amphorae have not appeared, from the Nile to the Crimea and from Mesopotamia west to Illyria, southern Italy, Sicily and Carthage[170]. The most important places involved in Rhodian trade were Ptolemaic Egypt and the Black Sea. Rhodes had commodities to export, notably fruits, honey, grape, and olive products and some fish and minerals, but the natural resources of the island and the Peraea were limited, and the Rhodians had an ever increasing need for imported goods, especially grain and timber for shipbuilding[171]. Of the great variety of goods that passed through the harbors of Rhodes, the most important was grain. It seems clear that disposal of the tremendous grain output of Crimea and the Nile valley became virtually a Rhodian monopoly after the death of Alexander[172]. In the course of the third century, the important trade from the Pontic granary was also managed largely by the Rhodians. Given Rhodes' position and financial resources, it naturally dealt with more than grain, every kind of commodity including slaves and luxury goods from the east. An important element in trade, however, is that it disperses trade items locally, as well as over long distances. Therefore it is possible to think that some trade activities took place in minor harbors as well.

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[168]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 131.

169The bankers or merchants were able to establish a headquarters in Rhodes where their agents could collect the latest quotations and, as the loaded ships arrived, divert them to whatever spot was offering the highest price (L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (Minerva Press USA 1959) 114).

[170]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 52.

[171]Ibid. 47.

[172]L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 72-81; R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 52.

4.4. Harbors

The history of harbors probably began when the first boatman searched for a safe, permanent moorage along the shore where a ship would be secure from the currents or the waves of the sea[173].

There are some differences between the two terms 'harbor' and 'port'. As this distinction is important to the present study, it would be worth noting the precise definitions of these terms. The descriptions below are the modern descriptions of a harbor and a port, but apparently the functions of both structures have not changed significantly since antiquity[174].

> *"A harbor is an area of water partially enclosed, and so protected from storms as to provide safe and suitable accommodation for vessels seeking refuge, supplies, re-fueling, repairs, or the transfer of cargo. A port is a sheltered harbor, where marine terminal facilities are provided, consisting of piers or wharves at which ships berth while loading or unloading cargo, transit sheds, and other storage areas, where ships may discharge incoming cargo, and warehouses where goods may be stored for longer periods while awaiting distribution or sailing."* [175]

The physical conditions of a harbor are basically created by the configuration of the coastline at a certain spot, by the currents, waves and winds prevailing in the area. When the harbor is to develop further to become a port, these conditions are of main concern for the architect and engineer who plan the layout of the port and its installations. The geographical situation is of importance primarily for the selection of the port's location, and secondly for its commercial success and size[176]. When dealing with ancient harbors the characteristics of the coastlines and coastal processes are of greater importance than the wind pattern or wave climate[177]. These factors might have been crucial to the ancients when deciding where to locate

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[173]J.W. Shaw, "Greek and Roman Harbourworks," in G. F. Bass ed., *A History of Seafaring* (London 1972) 88.

[174]Rickman refers to the definitions from a book about modern port construction (G.E. Rickman, "Towards a Study of Roman Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 105.

[175]Ibid. 105.

[176]Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 1.

[177]A. Raban, "Minoan and Canaanite Harbors," in *Thalassa*, L'Egée préhistorique et la mer [Aegaeum] (1991) 131.

harbors; and may have played a major role in the survival of these havens as active trade centers throughout the centuries[178].

At this point we need to define briefly two other important terms: hinterland and foreland. Hinterland is the region which provides the port with exports, such as raw materials, agricultural produce, and industrial goods, while receiving through the port all externally imported goods it may need[179]. Hinterland is connected to a port by means of inland communications. Foreland is the harbor or the port, to which other ports have frequent shipping connections[180].

4.5. Ancient Eastern Mediterranean (and Aegean) harbors

It is important to note that the most characteristic feature of the Eastern Mediterranean is the location of harbors on coastlines usually closed from the hinterland by longshore mountainous ranges. It is also significant that land routes running more or less parallel to the coast do not enlarge the hinterland considerably, which makes their construction meaningless. Due to terrain difficulties in the mountainous regions, sea transport is always preferable to land transport[181]. This is also true for most peninsulas where the access by sea is more convenient since the rocky and mountainous nature of the land hardly allows the construction of roads. A similar condition is that of the islands where a harbor is inevitable, since without a harbor the population of the island simply cannot exist[182].

4.5.1. Local harbors, their hinterlands and local traffic:

According to Karmon[183] the hinterlands might be grouped under three basic types: Continental or semicontinental; regional; and local.

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[178]Ibid. 131.

[179]Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 2.

[180]Ibid. 1.

[181]Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 4.

[182]Ibid. 2.

[183]Ibid. 4-5.

The best example to illustrate the definition of the continental hinterland is the port of Alexandria, which performed the function of controlling all the export and import activities of the Ptolemies. The hinterland for the port was the production centers of the Nile River and its foreland was eventually the whole Mediterranean.

The example of Rhodes illustrates the regional hinterlands, which by definition were found in the peninsulas and large islands of the Mediterranean[184]. The Rhodian hinterland comprised the island of Rhodes and the Rhodian Peraea. However, the hinterland of Rhodes possibly included many of the small production centers in the Aegean and the Black Sea, those which depended on Rhodes' intermediary role in trade for their export and import.

The local hinterland, by definition, serves small areas between the regional ports, at distances from about 20-30 km from the regional port[185]. A special case is the numerous small islands[186] which cannot rely on a hinterland for their supplies or marketing and thus have to do all their commercial dealings by sea. In the Aegean Sea these islands are so close to one another that their inhabitants can reach neighboring islands in a few hours. For that reason they can carry on traffic even in winter, as under the climatic conditions of the Mediterranean it is possible to predict weather at least a day in advance[187]. But for that purpose they have to utilize suitable places on the shore in order to find protection from winds which may shift from one direction to another. As mentioned above, the large islands create a regional hinterland. However within that context, they may possess several local ports for supplying especially food and other goods during the winter season.

A correlation existed between the types of ports and the ships that visit them. The ports with a local hinterland were visited for the most part by boats engaging in local traffic. These were generally small sailing boats, using auxiliary oars only to enter and leave ports[188]. The boats engaged in local traffic were usually small and their size prevented utilization of the space for large supplies of water and food or for the

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[184]Ibid. 4.

[185]Ibid. 5.

[186]The peninsulas blocked off from the mainland by mountains might also be examined in this context.

[187]Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 5.

[188]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 362.

sleeping quarters of the crew[189]. This forced the boat and its sailors to seek shelter every night and always to stay near the coast. For that reason, the distance from one local port to the next should have been about one day's journey. The question then is: how far boats ventured from their home port, under the assumption that they stayed within one of the well defined basins or gulfs of the Mediterranean? These enclosed basins and gulfs protected from storms, as we call them natural harbors, provided accommodation for the craft that tramped from coastal town to coastal town or between small islands throughout Greco-Roman antiquity. Some harbors provided supplies, repairs and the suitable geographical conditions for loading and unloading but sometimes the ships loaded and unloaded off beaches without benefit of harbor installations of any kind. However, in the Aegean where the topography of the coastline provides many suitable harbors, rather than beaches, the cities were founded with the condition of having a nice and protected harbor in front. This is especially valid for the settlements blocked off from the inland by the mountains where the food products and other basic needs were expected to be imported, and the survival of the settlement depended on the accessibility by sea. For this reason, the settlements of southwestern Caria all had harbors, and the surrounding cliffs provided good sheltered conditions for the ships to load and unload. The settlements which did not have access to a suitable harbor depended on others which did have one.

4.5.2. The two harbors of the city of Casara

Considering the limited agricultural land around Casara, it is highly possible that this city did not have local production to export. Casara probably produced some food products to maintain its own population but considering that the remains of the necropolis and habitation remains occupy almost the whole valley one can see that there is not much space left for agricultural use. It is possible that herding or other activities which would sustain the Casaran population were practiced although there is no evidence as such. Thus the explanation of how Casara prospered and became an important deme center would appear to lie in the nature of other activities conducted in this city. The definition of Casaran hinterland and foreland and their contribution to Casaran trade constitute an important aspect of the development of this settlement.

The deme of Casara includes the western part of the Loryma peninsula, and the city of Loryma itself. Also the territories on the north-west, including the deme of Phoinix and extending through Thyssanous probably depended on Casaran trade. In view of Phoinix's location in the mountains it would be

[189]Ibid. 362.

reasonable that Phoinix also depended on Casaran harbors for its trade and maintenance[190]. This whole area would comprise the hinterland of Casara and provide the Casaran harbors with exports, such as agricultural produce, industrial goods and raw materials. Although Loryma has its own fine harbor and Saranda bay served as another anchorage point in the area, Phoinix was probably connected to Casara by means of inland roads. The foreland of Casara must have been identical to that of Rhodes since Casara was after all a Rhodian city. Still the location of Casara differed somewhat from that of Rhodes, creating additional advantages for the usage of its harbors. Apart from its strategic location at the juncture of main trade routes, the city of Casara is also located at a place where an extensive local trade would be expected to occur. The area was highly populated and there were many inhabited sites both on the southern and northern coasts and the islands in the vicinity in antiquity. The island of Rhodes itself is only about 14 miles away from Casara. Several sites on the western Anatolian coast, the important centers in the vicinity as Knidos, and Halikarnassos and the islands Chios and Cos, were also important centers near Casara.

The city of Casara, as mentioned before, has two harbors which were used concurrently. The nature, shape, size and therefore the function of these harbors differed. This becomes clear from survey data of their submerged landscape.

4.5.2.1. Serçe Limanı

Serçe Limanı is an unusually well protected natural inlet. Its description by Bent as 'a curiously hidden harbor across the entrance to which a stone could easily be thrown' underlines its exceptional suitability as a harbor[191]. The entrance to Serçe Limanı is through a narrow passage, 25-30 meters wide and 25-30 meters long, whereas the periphery of the harbor is approximately 2.5 kilometers.

The Serçe Limanı 11th-century A.D. Glass Wreck excavation, the Hellenistic Wreck at Serçe Limanı excavation[192] and the Serçe Limanı Anchorage Survey[193] carried on by the Institute of Nautical

[190]It is also possible that Phoinix was maintained through the harbor at Saranda, but unless a certain political or administrative limitation hindered Phoinix from using Casaran harbors, geographical conditions of the peninsula are more suitable for reaching Casara rather than Saranda.

[191]J.T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor" *JHS* 9 (1888) 82.

[192]C. Pulak, and R.F. Townsend, "The Hellenistic Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 91 (1987) 31-57.

[193]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serçe Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981).

Archaeology have provided evidence about the history of Serçe Limanı and the trade activities in this region.

The archaeological finds[194], suggest a continuous use of this harbor from Chalcolithic I to 13th-century A.D.[195]. However both the concentration of the underwater material and the dates of the remains on land point to the period of Rhodian occupation as the heyday of this harbor. This is also the span of time when the Serçe Limanı harbor served the city of Casara. For this reason amphorae and coarse and fine ceramics, paralleled around the entire Mediterranean, from Spain to Syria, North Africa to the Black Sea particularly for the Hellenistic wreck[196] provide information about the scope of trade in this region. Although each find does not necessarily mean that Casara had direct connections with these regions, it does suggest that this harbor functioned as a stopping point during Mediterranean sea ventures. The existence of the remains of possible shipshed constructions on the northeastern beach[197] points to the presence of some maintenance facilities at Serçe Limanı.

4.5.2.2. Asardibi

The Asardibi bay is a natural harbor in every respect (Map 6). It is very much protected from the winds and waves in all seasons due to the presence of mountains beyond the bay. Its location on a large bay, and the presence of three islets at its entrance makes Asardibi entirely suitable for anchorage. In addition, although the steep hills start from a point very near the coastline, at some points, there remains enough space for beaching small vessels.

The archaeological evidence from the bottom of Asardibi suggests a continuous use for this harbor from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D.. The harbor debris in general represent a variety of artifacts including various amphora types. The preliminary study of the amphorae from Asardibi revealed that these did not fit into any of the known types. Some groups of fine ware from Asardibi also can barely be paralleled at other sites.

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[194]In general amphorae, pithoi, coarse and fine ware, anchors, except for the shipwrecks and ship parts (D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serçe Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981).

[195]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serçe Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981).

[196]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serçe Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981); C. Pulak, and R.F. Townsend, "The Hellenistic Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 91 (1987) 31-57.

4.6. The function of the Casaran harbors.

The size and importance of any harbor can be assessed by the rough number of the vessels it would accommodate at once. The dating of the ceramic finds and architectural remains from Asardibi and Casara indicate that the site was occupied between the fourth century B.C. and Byzantine era. Therefore, this harbor would have accommodated Hellenistic and Roman ships.

In Greek the term used for sailing ships is 'strongyla ploia' meaning round ships. In addition, Herodotus, Thucydides, Euripides, and Strabo uses the term 'holkades' to describe the sailing merchant vessels[198]. Romans had two types of sailing merchant vessels: the small 'ponto' used for local trade at the southern shore of France, and 'corbita', a larger ship used all over the Mediterranean[199].

The underwater excavations of wrecks dating to the Hellenistic and Roman period provide evidence for the dimensions of Greek vessels. The ship of Ma'agan Michael, wrecked near Haifa in the fifth or early fourth century B.C., was 13 meters long. The Kyrenia ship, wrecked near the town of Kyrenia on the north coast of Cyprus during the last decade of fourth century B.C., is 14 meters long[200]. The Marsala wreck, dated to the third century B.C., is 35 meters long. The ships of the second and first centuries B.C. have an average length of about 15-16 meters. However, the merchant vessels of the late first century B.C. have larger dimensions, averaging lengths of 30 meters. After the first century A.D., the lengths decrease to about 20 meters. Furthermore, specific study about the wrecks of Roman seagoing merchant vessels below 100 tons burden[201] provides additional information about the tonnage of antique vessels. Accordingly the 'small' vessels, of a maximum capacity of 35 tons, spanning the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., have lengths varying from 10.5 meters to 20 meters. Although we should take into consideration the decreasing quality and sizes of the ships in Roman period due to the economic situation, (and bearing in mind that the standard ratio of beam to length for merchant ships is 1:3) we can conclude that the sizes of classical local merchant ships that anchored at Asardibi, should not be much bigger than the 'small' Roman ships.

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[197]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serçe Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981) 154.

[198]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 169.

[199]Ibid. 170.

[200]J.R. Steffy, *Wooden Shipbuilding and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks* (Texas A&M Press 1994) 42.

However, the information about the sizes of these "small sailing boats" is unclear. Although we may attempt to make an assumption about the maximum and minimum dimensions of such vessels, it would still be rather hypothetical. Even in 20th century, when both the numbers and sizes of ships have increased enormously, the merchant fleets are made up primarily of ships at the lower end of the scale allowed by current technology[202]; this might help to conjecture the dimensions of small merchant vessels. When we go back to antiquity, literary sources such as the fragment of the port regulations of Thasos[203], provide information about the definition of 'small ship'. According to this inscription, it is clear that the 80-toner was the smallest ship that was allowed to use harbor facilities[204]. From the fifth century B.C. onwards, carriers for 100 to 150 tons were in common use[205]. After the third century B.C., huge ships of over 1000 tons each were manufactured for grain transportation from Africa[206]. However, although many ancient authors give us information about the sizes of those, smaller vessels for other trade goods must have also continued to be in use. The information gathered from the ships which carried heavy loads like stone or wine gives the rough common dimensions for these vessels: 19 x 33 meters long and 7 x 10 meters in beam[207].

The geographical location and the historical context of Asardibi, being the secondary harbor of the Rhodian deme of Casara in the Peraea, also makes it logical to suggest that the harbor was frequented by the smallest vessels employed during the entire period of occupation of Casara[208]. This harbor was probably involved in local trade and maintenance of the city provided by small vessels. Referring to the information presented above about the ship dimensions, and considering the dimensions of the smallest vessels of this

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[201]G.W. Houston, "Ports in Perspective: Some Comparative Materials on Roman Merchant Ships and Ports," *AJA* 92 (1988) 557.

[202]Ibid. 555.

[203]This inscription is dated to third century B.C. (L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 171).

[204]For other documents that tell about the same tonnage; see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 171-172 n. 23.

[205]Ibid. 172.

[206]G.E. Rickman, "Towards a Study of Roman Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 108.

[207]L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1973) 173.

[208]In this thesis the city of Casara is examined to understand the function of Rhodian Peraea and the economic and political significance of Rhodian deme centers in this period. Therefore the later Byzantine occupation of the site will not be included in this discussion since this period differs from the earlier Rhodian occupation in various aspects.

period, it can be concluded that Asardibi was a harbor suitable for small vessels of about 10 -20 meters in length and 3 - 6 meters in beam. The approximate tonnage for these might be suggested as 35 tons after Houston's calculations mentioned above. It is then possible to draw a simple sketch to see that the shape and the size of the harbor would allow a maximum of 25 small vessels to anchor concurrently at Asardibi.

The situation for Serçe Limanı is slightly different. Both the size, the shape and the geographical location of Serçe Limanı made it an important harbor in the area. As discussed above, Serçe Limanı is one of the two big natural harbors on the southern side of the Loryma peninsula, and is more closed to winds than the harbor of Bozukkale (Loryma). Its location just across the waters from Rhodes, and the ease of reaching Rhodian harbors from this side of the peninsula make Serçe Limanı a major harbor. The fact that Serçe Limanı was more often mentioned by the ancient sources than the city of Casara itself suggests that it was a well-known shelter for sailing vessels. The presence of the remains of possible shipsheds on Serçe Limanı[209] also indicates that the harbor offered some facilities. It is therefore logical to assume that the main trade activity of Casara took place through this harbor. Both archaeological and epigraphic evidence and the suitability of its geographical position on the main trade routes constitute grounds to suggest that Serçe Limanı was involved in international trade. Since the size of ships was dictated by economic forces[210] and a common size for a sea-going merchantman was at least 240 tons, with a beam of 10 meters and a length of 30 in the Roman period[211], and considering that Serçe Limanı was more likely to be involved in international trade due to its geographical location and its bigger size, we can assume that Serçe Limanı was frequented by bigger ships than Asardibi of about 300-400 tons.

Whether the City of Casara was involved actively in international trade, as an export - import center or its harbors only served as anchorage and maintenance places is unknown. However even in the latter case it is highly possible that some minor trade activities and exchange of certain goods took place at Casara. In addition, since Rhodes secured a large part of her revenue from the passage of cargoes via her

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[209]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serce Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981) 154.

[210]The carrying of a bulk cargo such as grain on the long journey from Egypt to Italy encouraged an increased size on this route. Many other ships of smaller size, 70 tons or less, would be needed for other kinds of cargoes on shorter journeys, because that was what made economic sense (G.E. Rickman, "Towards a Study of Roman Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 108; A. Tchernia and P. Pomey, "Le tonnage maximum des navires de commerce romains," *Archaeonautica* 2 (1978) 233).

[211]G.E. Rickman, "Towards a Study of Roman Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 108.

ports[212], it is highly possible that she encouraged the harbors of the Peraea to contribute to the Rhodian economy. Consequently, another business which was conducted at Serçe Limanı was most probably the taxation of the passing cargoes. As a result, Serçe Limanı was possibly not a major port but it is apparent that it was frequented for several centuries by ships filling the needs of Casara and environs, and it was one of the major reasons for the development and wealth of the deme of Casara.

4.7. Conclusion

The information and evidence about the navigation, shipping and trade of the period of occupation at Casara is scarce. However, our knowledge about the general conditions, history and climate makes it possible to suggest a certain pattern of its regional navigation. Maritime traffic in this area conceivably took place approximately between mid April and mid June, and mid August and mid October.

Another important historical fact about the maritime traffic is that due to the restrictions and limitations in the ship-building technology and navigational techniques, the sailing vessels of antiquity had to keep sight of the coast. In this context, the city of Casara like its parent state Rhodes lies at the juncture of two main sea trade routes: north-south connecting the Black Sea, Aegean and North Africa; and the east-west connecting the Near East with Greece and beyond.

The geographical locations, shapes, facilities and sizes of the two Casaran harbors are different. Therefore, it is evident that their functions would be different as well. The big and well-protected Serçe Limanı probably served as a harbor for the merchant ships sailing in between international trade centers, and for small vessels used for the local trade going back anf forth between the cities on Rhodes and the south of the Loryma peninsula. Asardibi, the second harbor of Casara probably were less involved in the international trade and even in the traffic between Rhodes and Peraea, since Serçe Limanı was more convenient for that direction. The evidence from underwater surveys in both harbors implies this difference. The amphora types from Serçe Limanı are in general well-known "international" types with several parallels in other sites[213]. These represent the most renowned transport amphorae types from the Chalcolithic to Byzantine periods, illustrating the idea that the harbor was visited by many ships involved in long distance trade. The Asardibi harbor has at least eight distinct amphora types among which only one is recognizable

[212]R.S. Carter, "The 'Stepped Pyramids' of the Loryma Peninsula," *Ist. Mitt.* 32 (1982) 182.

as a typical Rhodian amphora. These amphorae might have been locally produced or belonged to less-known local production centers. It is important to note here that locally produced wares not intended for export commerce would not have to be made according to any specific standards of volume or form, whereas widely shipped amhorae bore uniform capacities and morphologies[214]. In addition, the accumulation of ceramic material on the bottom of the Asardibi bay indicates continuous use of this harbor. The stepped entrance of Casara from Asardibi harbor also demonstrates the importance of this small harbor.

This division of function between the harbors of Casara is important as it implies the high level of organization of the city. The availability of access to both sides of the peninsula probably was one of the numerous reasons why the bigger city of Loryma was left under the dominance of the deme of Casara by Rhodes. This situation will be discussed in detail in the conclusion.

[213]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serce Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981).

[214]N.K. Rauh, personal communication.

Chapter V : History of Casara

The period of occupation of Casara, as provided by the dates of Casaran inscriptions and ceramic finds from Asardibi, is the beginning point for research about Casaran history. The period of occupation appears to be between the fifth century B.C. and the third century A.D. according to the dating of pottery from Asardibi, and epigraphic dating of inscriptions from Casara. The dating mentioned also points to the period between the third and the first century B.C. as the period of maximum concentration of the archaeological finds. Therefore, the research about the history of this period will certainly help to understand the historical context of Casara. In addition, since the epigraphical evidence also presents information about the administrative status of Casara, a deme center in the Rhodian Peraea, it can be suggested that the history of Rhodes, during the period of occupation of Casara, would help to reconstruct Casaran history.

5.1. The Rhodian Peraea

Casara's historical situation requires the survey of the history of Rhodes since it was part of the Rhodian state during Classical, Hellenistic and early Roman times. The administrative status of Casara, a deme center in the Rhodian Peraea, and the function of this deme incorporated to Rhodes need to be discussed in order to reconstruct the history of this settlement.

Most settlement names mentioned below are shown on the map of the Incorporated Peraea (Map 2).

5.1.2. Physical Description of the Rhodian Peraea

The territory of the Rhodian state was not confined to Rhodes itself but also included a number of nearby islands[215] and parts of the neighboring Anatolian mainland. The term 'Rhodian Peraea' is used by literary authorities to denote all Rhodian territory on the mainland. In Rhodian inscriptions the corresponding term is to peran, meaning 'opposite'.

On the southwest coast of Asia Minor, the entire Loryma peninsula southwest of Physcus appears to have been Rhodian before the synoecism; and in the course of the fourth century B.C. this area was extended to include all the territory west to the Cnidian frontier at modern Bencik, north to Cedreae and east to Physcus[216]. All of this territory comprised the 'Incorporated Peraea' and together with the islands formed an integral part of the Rhodian state. The inhabitants of these areas were full citizens, politically equal to those who lived on Rhodes, and the land was divided into demes, each of which came under the titular leadership of one of the three old cities of Rhodes[217]. It appears that with the likely exception of larger cities, Rhodian rule was not unpopular[218].

5.1.2.1. Epigraphic evidence concerning the ancient topography.

Although some ancient authors discuss the Peraea, the evidence is in general hard to synthesize and determining the clear boundaries of the Peraea is difficult. For instance, Ps. Scylax, writing in ca. 350 B.C., mentions Cnidos as "a Greek town and village of Rhodes on the mainland". He also mentions Caunos, the cape Krasos and the city and harbor of Phellos in the same context. It can be inferred from this passage that at ca. 350 B.C. the Peraea extended from the eastern boundary of Cnidian territory at Bencik to the northern boundary of Caunian territory[219].

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[215]Islands of Carpathus, Chalce, Syme, Megiste, Casus, Nisyrus, Telos, and Sarus (P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 138).

[216]According to Livy, Rhodes possessed a tract of Carian territory extending north from the Ceramic Gulf to the vicinity of Stratonicea until its recapture by Philip V in 197/6. When Rhodes acquired this territory is not known; however Rhodes' best opportunity to seize the area would have come in the years between Ipsus and the fall of Demetrius in 286, a poorly documented period during which Caria was controlled by Lysimachus. Rhodes acquired only two other pieces of mainland before Apameia: Stratonicea and Kaunos (the latter was purchased from the generals of Ptolemy V, at about 191) (R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 45).

[217]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 41-42.

[218]Rhodes attempted to bind its subjects closer to it by introducing the cults of Helios, Rhodos, and the Rhodian demos and various Rhodian constitutional and social institutions. At the same time she didn't interfere with the native Carian koine; these ancient political and social units were granted some degree of independence. The large cities of the Subject Peraea, such as Kaunos and Stratonicea, and probably others were garrisoned since they were politically insecure places. After 167 the independent city of Ceramus, which for two decades had been under Rhodian control, voluntarily struck a defensive alliance with the island and this shows that Rhodian hegemony had not been so intolerable as to stop subsequent relations (Ibid. 41-2).

[219]However the exact boundaries of Caunian territory at this time are not known (P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 54).

Strabo, providing a more detailed information in his late first century B.C. text[220], notes that the Peraea of Rhodes begins in southern Caria and ends at Poseidon of Miletos. The beginning of the Rhodian Peraea is noted as Daidala, at the end of the mountain named Phoinix, which too belonged to Rhodes. Sailing from Daedala towards the west, there is a gulf with good harbors, Glaukos, then the Artemision cape and sanctuary, and the Letoon groove. Above it and 60 stadia from the sea lies the city of Kalynda, then Caunos, and then the deep river of Kalbis and the city of Pisilis at its entrance. Against Loryma, there is a very high mountain with a fort named Phoinix on its summit. The island of Elaiussa lies 4 stadia away. Backward from the Carian coast nearest to Rhodes, from Elaiussa and Loryma, the shoreline makes an angle towards the north, and thereafter the trip until the Propontis is straight. Next to Loryma is the island of Syme, followed by Knidos. Other ancient sources, such as Pliny, Mela and Ptolemy do not offer any additional information, but give more settlement names[221].

The Rhodian Peraea was divided into two administrative units. First, territory which formed an integral part of the Rhodian state and participated in deme system, and whose inhabitants ranked politically equal to those of the island, belonged to the Incorporated Peraea. Second, territory acquired, and lost at various times by Rhodes, whose inhabitants stood to the island city in the relation of subject to overlord, belonged to the Subject Peraea.

In summary, the Incorporated Peraea is generally accepted as the territories of the following cities: Daedala, Cryassus, Physcus, Amos, Syrna, Phoinix, Portus Gelos and Portus Cressa, Casara, Loryma, Thyssanous, Tymnus, Hyla, and the Chersonesan cities of Cedreae and Erine. The Subject Peraea, by the time it reached its greatest size in early second century B.C., included Kaunos, Calynda, Physcus, Pynus, Stratonicea, Callipolis, Idyma, Thera, Cyllandus, Pisye, Panamara, Pladasa, and Prinassus[222].

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[220]The passage by Strabo is quoted in P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 51.

[221]Ibid. 51-52.

[222]Ibid. 51-75.

5.2. The acquisition of the Peraea by Rhodes

5.2.1. History of Rhodes prior to the acquisition of the Peraea

The size and situation of the island of Rhodes, near Asia Minor and Crete, have always given it a peculiar importance among the islands. Legends and the archaeological finds from the island, suggest that in prehistoric times it was an important trade center, having connections with Minoan Crete, the Argolid, the Greek Mainland, Phoenicia and Egypt[223].

The Dorian migration, being the last and southernmost of the successive waves of migration from Greece to Asia[224], occupied the islands of Rhodes, and Cos and a few places on the mainland. Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the Rhodian cities attained cultural and commercial prosperity after the Dorian invasion and their fame in seamanship spread far[225]. The Dorian settlers on the coast of Caria were also the first to establish contact with the native inhabitants[226].

The Dorian hexapolis, a league of six cities including Cos and three cities of Rhodes[227], and on the mainland Cnidos and Halikarnassos, was formed in the seventh century B.C.. The Dorian hexapolis met periodically at the festival of Triopian Apollo on the territory of Knidos[228]. This is the first evidence of a definite relation between the island of Rhodes and the opposite mainland. In the latter part of the sixth century, and the early fifth century, from the time of Darius I to the defeat of Xerxes in 480 B.C., both the Rhodian and the Carian cities paid tribute to the Persians. However there is no evidence about whether Rhodes possessed territory on the mainland opposite the island before and during the Persian occupation or not[229].

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[223]Homer cites Rhodes in the *Iliad*, as having three major cities called "Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros". It is known, from the archaeological material, that three of these centers were occupied in Mycenean times, and Ialysos seems to be the major settlement (Bean: Princeton Encyclopedia 1976).

[224]G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 4.

[225]In the early seventh century, Rhodians, in cooperation with Crete, founded their first colony in Gela in Sicily.

[226]H. Brewster, *Classical Anatolia - The Glory of Hellenism* (London and New York 1993) 1.

[227]Lindos, Camiros and Ialysos.

[228]Bean, G. E., *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 128.

[229]P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 94.

5.2.2. Events leading to the acquisition of the Peraea

It is important at this point to examine the general economic and political events leading to Rhodes' development as an *emporium*. It can be argued that Rhodes dared to acquire territory on the opposite mainland after establishing herself as an international trade center. Since both acquiring and developing the cities on the mainland must have had a certain cost for the Rhodians, it is not feasible that the Rhodian state would spend money and energy to acquire territory which could not be defended and protected. In this case, Rhodian cities had to believe that they could sustain their territories on the mainland over the long term. Another important point is that the island of Rhodes and its people had always enjoyed naval power but not a land army. Therefore, they required at least some political support to secure the defense of the territories on the mainland against the contemporary land powers. In this context, the developments that contributed to the expansion of the Rhodian economic and political power must also have contributed to the spread of Rhodian power in the Peraea. Moreover, excess population export to neighboring mainland regions is characteristic of Greek Peraeae. The acquisition of the Peraea was somehow compulsory for Rhodes, whose maintenance depended upon trade since the earliest periods. Such a trade center would naturally discourage the development of competing rival trade centers, and the harbors of the Loryma peninsula held the potential, due to their position on the trade routes, to become as convenient as the harbors of Rhodes herself.

The Rhodian cities of Lindos, Ialysos and Camiros, were members of the Delian league[230] with other cities on the Carian coast, and paid tribute to the Athenian demos in the fifth century B.C. until they founded their own federal union in the late fifth century B.C.[231] It is not known whether Lindos, Ialysos and Camiros already possessed territory on the mainland by the time they were in the Delian league; but if so, it is possible that besides providing their own protection, securing the land borders of their Peraea was a reason for them to take part in this alliance.

In 408/7 the three poleis of Rhodes surrendered their autonomy to form the Rhodian republic, with a new capital city, Rhodes. The old cities were not abandoned but continued to maintain their own

[230]The defeat of Athens by Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.) put an end to the Delian Confederacy (P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 96).

[231]Ibid. 96-97.

individuality within the new state[232]. Rhodes' economic, political and military importance in the Hellenistic age resulted from this union of the island. The willingness of three Rhodian cities to abandon their individual autonomy was possibly the most important event in Rhodian history[233]. Before the synoecism the history of Rhodes is an almost total blank, but the epigraphic evidence[234] suggests that the individual cities had possessed territory on the Peraea. After the unification this territory -Incorporated Peraea - became part of the Rhodian state, and its inhabitants enjoyed full status as citizens of Rhodes[235]. The area in question comprised the peninsula south-west of Marmaris (the Loryma peninsula), and somewhat later[236], the land to the north and north-west as far as the Ceramic Gulf. Nonetheless, the central core of the Peraea was always the rocky and mountainous Loryma peninsula[237].

The Spartan fleet operated out of Rhodes from 398 to 396 and the island of Rhodes served as the main Spartan naval station in the east. The Rhodians, however, revolted in 396 against the Spartans[238] with the aid of foreign intervention, namely, the Persian fleet under the command of the Athenian exile Conon[239]. About this time, following the naval victory of Conon over the Spartans in 394 B.C., a group of Aegean cities formed an alliance among themselves, with the object of securing independence from Persians and Spartans. The members of this league, also known from its coinage[240] were Rhodes, Samos, Ephesus, Knidos, Iasus and Byzantium, under the leadership of Thebes.

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[232]G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 128.

[233]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 20.

[234]After the dating and epigraphic study of an inscription from Phoinix it can be noted that at least Phoinix was incorporated before the synoecism (P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 95-96).

[235] G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 128.

[236]It is known that territories around Cedreae were not incorporated until the Hellenistic age (P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 95).

[237]G.E. Bean, Bean, G. E., *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 129-132.

[238]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 25.

[239]In late 398 or early 397 Conon arrived in Caria with the first forty vessels of the new fleet and in the course of the year was blockaded in Kaunos by 120 ships under Spartan nauarch Pharax. Then Pharax turned to Rhodes, and Conon, having collected 80 triremes, sailed to Chersonese. The Rhodians, having revolted against the Peloponnesian fleet and thrown them out, received Conon into the harbor (Ibid. 25).

[240]G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 6.

Rhodes joined the Athenian league after 390[241]. But after the defeats of Naxos and Leuctra, Sparta had ceased to be any threat to the islanders, and they felt that the financial burdens and constant danger of resurgent Athenian domination were no longer justified. Therefore, in 357 Rhodes, Cos and Chios revolted against Athens and seceded from the sea league, with the support of the new dynast of Caria, Mausolus[242]. The rebellion was successful and Athens recognized the independence of the rebel states in 355, but then Rhodes fell under the power of Mausolus, who installed garrisons in the major cities of Rhodes[243]. Mausolus also held the control of the Rhodian territories on the mainland and fortified Kaunos. Under the influence of the Hekatomnid dynasts who fostered Hellenism and ruled the country as satraps, Carian villages, such as Mylasa and Alabanda, became poleis - Greek cities with a Greek constitution and Hellenic buildings. Greek was adopted as the official language and coins with Greek legends were struck[244]. Rhodes and the Peraea stayed under Carian power until Alexander's arrival in 334[245].

5.2.3. The acquisition of the Peraea

The acquisition of Peraea gained speed with the economic development of Rhodes. This timing also indicates the function of the cities in the Peraea as trade centers. In early 332 the Rhodians offered formal submission to Alexander before the walls of Tyre[246]. The submission was accepted and a Macedonian garrison was installed on the island. Since Alexander was very much concerned with the problem of internal political harmony and stability in the Greek states, the newfound political tranquility at Rhodes was maintained by this garrison. Also, Alexander's support and his need to maintain maritime supply to his army marching far to the East must have contributed to Rhodes' development as a major power at the beginning of the Hellenistic era. The deme system must have introduced soon after the democratic revolution of 395, and the Peraean cities became deme centers at that time[247].

241This league is known as the second Athenian Sea League, and Rhodes, being invited to take part in it, has its name listed on the inscription known as the Stele of Aristoteles (378/7 B.C.) with the other members of the league (R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City-States. Ca. 700-338 B.C.* (California 1976) 411-12).

[242]R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City-States. Ca. 700-338 B.C.* (California 1976) 439.

[243]Ibid. 440.

[244]H. Brewster, *Classical Anatolia - The Glory of Hellenism* (London and New York 1993) 14.

[245]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 32.

[246]R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City-States. Ca. 700-338 B.C.* (California 1976) 439.

[247]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 36.

After Alexander's death in 323, his empire broke apart and the political unity was destroyed. By 275, the Rhodians had built up a considerable sea-power and established themselves as one of the major powers of the Hellenistic period[248]. Their territory was also extensive: in the course of the fourth century the Rhodians extended the Peraea to include all the territory west to the Cnidian frontier, north to Cedreae and east of some point beyond Physcus[249]. All of this territory, together with the already incorporated Loryma peninsula, comprised the new incorporated Peraea and including the islands formed an integral part of the Rhodian state. [250]

Rhodes played an important role in the economic and political 'maintenance' of the developing Hellenistic centers. Geographically the island was well situated both as an importer (from Crimea and Egypt) and as an exporter (to the islands of the Cyclades and the cities of Asia Minor). The main east-west trade route shifted and Rhodes took over the title of foremost *emporium* in the eastern Mediterranean from Piraeus[251]. In addition, the freedom of the seas was crucial for Rhodes as her economic life depended on overseas trade, and therefore the Rhodian navy shouldered the burden and single-handedly patrolled the eastern Mediterranean to keep it free of piracy[252]. The indispensable place that Rhodes had acquired in the international trade at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. is illustrated by the reaction of the main contemporary powers when Demetrios besieged Rhodes in 306 B.C.. The siege lasted for one year in which Cassander, Lysimachus and especially Ptolemy secured the city by providing food and other goods[253]. The Cnidians and Athenians tried to negotiate but finally the Aetolian league succeeded in resolving the siege[254]. Rhodes kept its autonomy, remained ungarrisoned and enjoyed its revenues. This was a great victory for Rhodes that was celebrated by the construction of Colossus, the symbol of Rhodian independence and power.

248Others are the three preeminent dynasties: the Seleucids in Syria, the Ptolemies in Egypt, the Antigonids in Macedonia and the Attalid kingdom of Pergamon, established after 280 B.C. (L.H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions* (Oxford 1987) 4).

[249]G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 8.

[250]The deme system must have introduced soon after the democratic revolution of 395 (R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 36) and the Peraean cities must have become deme centers at that time.

[251]R. Garland, *The Piraeus: From the Fifth to the First Century B.C.* (London 1987) 55.

[252]L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (Minerva Press USA 1959) 151.

253Cassander and Lysimachus were honored and Ptolemy I started to be worshipped under the name of 'Soter' in Rhodes after the siege (P. Jouguet, *L'impérialisme macedonien et l'héllénisation de l'orient* (Paris 1926) 340).

[254]There were other political and military reasons for this but these will not be included in this paper. For details see P. Jouguet, *L'impérialisme macedonien et l'héllénisation de l'orient* (Paris 1926) 181.

Another event demonstrating the importance of the island is the earthquake of 227/8 B.C.. Many small states and every important monarch in the Greek world contributed to the relief of the island and the response of the Greek world was of such magnitude that the relief afforded Rhodes by its neighbors allowed her to emerge from the calamity with undiminished strength, an enhanced reputation, and renovated fortifications[255]. This unparalleled unanimity of action was directed by economic interests. All the states, helping Rhodes were involved in Rhodian commercial activities, and many were dependent on it for imports and shipping or marketing of exports. The well-being of the island was crucial to those who relied on the Rhodian-dominated network grain distribution[256]. In addition, there was probably a general fear in the international banking community of a widespread financial crisis should the Rhodian economy be seriously disrupted[257].

Rhodes acquired, permanently or temporarily, much other territory on the mainland after 201 B.C.[258]. These territories were governed by Rhodian officials, but the inhabitants were not Rhodian citizens. The land around and to the north and the east end of the Ceramic Gulf was probably annexed in the early third century B.C., and the acquisition of Stratoniceia followed soon afterwards[259]. About 190 B.C., the Rhodians bought Kaunos from Ptolemy of Egypt for 200 talents[260].

The acquisition of Illyria by the Romans in 220 B.C. brought Philip V of Macedon into conflict with the growing power of the Romans. In 201, when Philip V threatened the markets and the territories in the Aegean and the Black Sea by a series of raids in Caria, he incurred the hostility of Rhodes and Pergamon. Rhodes and Pergamon combined to defeat him in a sea battle off Chios, but also demanded the support of Rome to protect themselves from Philip in the long term. In the second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.), Philip V, having lost most of his navy in the previous war with Rhodes and Pergamon, was

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[255]The list of contributors reads like a survey of Hellenistic royalty: Antigonus Doson, huge quantities of lead, pitch and timber, 100 000 medimni of grain, and 100 talents of silver; Seleucus II, timber, resin, grain, ten equipped quinqueremes, and exemption from Seleucid customs; Ptolemy III, large amounts of timber, and other shipbuilding materials, 450 paid builders and masons, 1000 talents of coined bronze, silver, bronze for the Colossus, grain; Hiero II and Gelo of Syracuse, 50 three-cubit catapults, silver, exemption from custom duties; and similar gifts from Prusias and Mithridates II, from the dynasts Lysanias, Olympichus and Limnaeus and from the cities 'too numerous to mention' (R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 92).

[256]They ranged from the small Aegean importers to such big exporters as the normally tight-fisted Ptolemy, whose lavish gifts show the particular importance of Rhodes to his country.

[257]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 50.

[258]P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 98-99.

[259]G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 128.

[260]Ibid. 128.

severely defeated. After this war the Roman commander Flamininus declared that all Greek cities, both on Europe and Asia should be free allies of Rome. However, Antiochus lll of Syria, in the same year, 197, attacked the cities on the south and much of the west coast of Asia Minor to regain the Seleucid empire. His activity had the result of bringing the Roman armies for the first time into Asia Minor, and in 190, at the crucial battle of Magnesia-under-Sipylus, Antiochus was defeated[261]. By the treaty of Apamea which followed, the Romans ceded the whole of Lycia and Caria south of the Meander to the Rhodians[262] and the rest of the Asia Minor to Eumenes of Pergamon.

5.2.4. The loss of the Peraea

The third Macedonian War started in 171 B.C. when the son of Philip V, Perseus, led a Macedonian revolt against Roman hegemony in the Aegean. The Romans mismanaged affaairs so badly that their forces did not do well at the beginning; Rhodes made the serious mistake of sending envoys to Rome to mediate the conflict, but this turned disastrous with the unexpected news of Roman victory at Pydna in 168 B.C.[263]. The Roman senate saw no need for direct action; instead it struck at the heart of Rhodian strength by making the island of Delos a free port and therefore developing it as a major commercial center[264]. Also, Rhodes was ordered to withdraw her garrisons from Kaunos and Stratonicea in 165 B.C.[265]. The Roman Senate issued a decree declaring Caria and Lycia free in 167 B.C. and Rhodes lost most of its territories on the mainland. But the country between Stratoniceia and the Ceramic Gulf continued to be controlled by Rhodes at least until the second century A.D.[266].

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[261]Ibid. 9.

[262]Ibid. 128.

[263]V. Gabrielsen, "Rhodes and Rome after the Third Macedonian War" in P. Bilde, T. Engberg- Pedersen, L. Hannestad, J. Zahle, and K. Randsborg eds., *Center and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (Aarhus 1993) 133.

264Between 166 and 88 B.C., traders from Roman Republican Italy and the Hellenistic East transformed the island sanctuary of Apollo at Delos into the most celebrated emporium of the Mediterranean world, and more specifically into the nerve center of the Roman Republican slave trade. The Roman Republican Senate ceded the island to the people of Athens with the provision that the harbor be administrated as a duty-free zone (N.K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce. Religion, Economy, and Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166-87 B.C.* (Amsterdam 1993) 1).

[265]V. Gabrielsen, "Rhodes and Rome after the Third Macedonian War" in P. Bilde, T. Engberg- Pedersen, L. Hannestad, J. Zahle, and K. Randsborg eds., *Center and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (Aarhus 1993) 133.

[266]G.E. Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Meander* (London 1989) 128.

With the loss of revenue from the Subject Peraea and the harbor dues, she no longer had the funds to finance a navy that could patrol the seas[267]. Although her commerce and naval power were much curtailed[268], Rhodes continued to be a trade center and a major center of art, literature, philosophy and rhetorical training[269]. In the Civil War after Caesar's death, the island was ravaged and the city thoroughly pillaged by Cassius; but Strabo who visited the city in the time of Augustus was profoundly impressed by its well-being[270] and found it a city of 'unparalleled beauty'. The island suffered disastrous earthquakes again in 345 and 515 A.D., and the great city of Rhodes was reduced to the comparatively small medieval town which was eventually taken over by the Knights of St. John.

The date at which Rhodes lost the Incorporated Peraea is unknown. It is probable that the area was all lost at once probably by a decision of a Roman emperor[271]. Certainly the loss was later than 210, since at 210 Chersonesus and Syme still were Rhodian strategia, as mentioned on some Rhodian inscriptions[272].

5.3. The administration of the Peraea.

The previous discussion demonstrates that the Rhodian Peraea comprised two main parts: Incorporated Peraea and Subject Peraea. The basic difference between these is that the Incorporated Peraea formed an integral part of the Rhodian state and participated in the deme system, and its inhabitants ranked politically equal to those of the island. Subject Peraea was acquired and lost at various times by Rhodes, its inhabitants were subject to Rhodes proper. Incorporated Peraea was Rhodian before the synoecism and this probably explains the difference between the administration of Subject and Incorporated Peraea.

267L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 78. However it is known that Rhodes continued to have some warships down to 42 B.C. (C. Starr, *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History* (Oxford 1989) 60).

[268]Even after Delos was made the tax-free emporion, Rhodes, still had her merchant marine and her harbor was still far more suitable for the larger carriers and her location was far suitable as a stopping point. Although her harbor revenues were curtailed, she continued to drew her supplies from Egypt which became the richest supplier of grain in Roman period, maintained her large carrying trade and stayed prosperous (L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 80).

[269]Cicero and many other distinguished Romans studied here (L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 80).

[270]L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 78.

[271]P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 98.

[272]Ibid. 98.

The administration of Rhodian Peraea did not differ from the system applied to the island itself. The demes were distributed between the three cities of Camiros, Ialysos and Lindos since on the island no demes were attached directly to the city of Rhodes, which stood outside the deme organization[273].

The Rhodian administration of the Peraea seems to resemble the military systems of the Hellenistic world. A member of the board of ten strategoi was responsible for the military organization of the island as a whole. And to this strategos the hegemones and epistatai were subordinate, and responsible mainly for the coordination of the defense throughout the territory. One member of the board of strategoi was known as the strategos of the Peraea[274]. All these officials were elected by the popular assembly of Rhodes and appointed by the Rhodian state. A series of inscriptions found in various locations in the Peraea made clear the functions of the hegemones: hegemon of Caria, hegemon of Lycia and the hegemon of Caunos. The first of these was responsible for the Incorporated Peraea. The epistatai had a similar organization, and fell into two groups for the Incorporated and Subject territories[275].

It is not possible to know if the Loryma peninsula was inhabited prior to its incorporation to Rhodes, due to the scarcity of archaeological surveys in the area. Some finds at Serçe Limanı suggest the continuous use of this harbor since the Chalcolithic period[276]; but it cannot be inferred whether the harbor was involved in trade or it was just an anchorage place for the ships passing through. However depending on the elaboration of the architectural features of the Incorporated deme centers, and the presence of the high level of social stratification developed as early as the fifth century B.C., as we learn from the inscriptions the inhabitants already appear to have had a certain level of civilization prior to its incorporation by Rhodes. The political situation of the Loryma peninsula prior to its incorporation is open to debate. However, it is generally accepted that it was probably independent of Rhodian or Knidian control at that time[277]. Another very important source for the presence of earlier cultures in this area are the tombstones of the Loryma peninsula. These tombstones are unique pieces with no parallels elsewhere in the world[278]. It can therefore

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[273]Ibid. 126.

[274]Ibid. 82-83.

[275]Ibid. 84-88.

[276]D.A. Slane, *The History of The Anchohrage at Serce Liman, Turkey* (Unpublished Masters Thesis 1981) 21.

[277]R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca and London 1984) 42; P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 94; J.M. Cook, "Cnidian Peraea and Spartan Coins", *JHS* 81 (1961) 56.

[278]R.S. Carter, "The 'Stepped Pyramids' of the Loryma Peninsula," *Ist. Mitt.* 32 (1982) 176.

be suggested that the settlements of at least the Loryma peninsula enjoyed an ancient burial traditions that included the construction of these funerary monuments. The dating of the architectural remains at Loryma[279] to the seventh century B.C., also support this conclusion.

Since it is known that Phoinix was incorporated before 408 B.C.[280], Casara directly to the south of Phoinix must have also been incorporated at least by that time if not sooner. Casara was attached to the city of Camiros on the island and the Casarans became full citizens of Rhodes. The acquisition of the territories on the north and north-west as far as the Ceramic Gulf increased the importance of Casara as the local trade expanded. The border of the Peraea must have been at some point near Physcus by that time, which means that it included Erine, Amos, Syrna, Tymnus, Thyssanous, Phoinix, Casara and Loryma. By the fifth century, since Loryma was controlled by Casara and Phoinix depended on Casaran harbors, it can be concluded that Casara was a large and very important center of the existing Peraea.

In the course of the fourth century the Peraea included all the territories west to the modern Bencik, north to Cedreae and east to Physcus. After the democratic revolution of 395 B.C. Casara became the Camiran deme center and controlled the southern part of the Loryma peninsula, including the city of Loryma. The inscriptions and the architectural features in the cities of the Peraea indicate that corresponding to the advance of Rhodes, the demes of the Incorporated Peraea also prospered.

The enlargement of the Rhodian control on the mainland after the acquisition of the territories around Ceramic Gulf and Stratoniceia in the early third century B.C. and the acquisition of Kaunos in 190 B.C., followed by the possession of Lycia and Caria south of Meander, undoubtedly increased the volume of trade. The cities of the Incorporated Peraea presumably acquired a further function as military bases for Rhodian intervention in the rebellions and civic turmoils of the Subject Peraea. It is highly possible that Casara, as an important deme center controlling south and north of the peninsula through its harbors, functioned as a military base in this period. It is also practicable that the big and suitable harbors of Loryma and especially the southern harbor of Casara (Serçe Limanı) were converted into naval arsenals of Rhodes,

[279]During the survey conducted in Loryma in 1995 by W. Held, many architectural remains were studied and dated.

[280]After the dating and epigraphic study of an inscription from Phoinix it can be noted that at least Phoinix was incorporated before the synoecism (P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands* (Oxford 1954) 95-96).

whose harbors were too small to house both its world commerce and its formidable navy[281]. On the other hand, the function of the Casaran harbors was not only to accommodate the navy, but to supply the cities of the peninsula with imported food and other trade goods. This point will be discussed in detail in the conclusion.

After the island of Delos was made a free port in 168 B.C., and Rhodes lost the Subject Peraea in 171- 165 B.C., the declining economic power of Rhodes must have had a negative effect on the Incorporated Peraea. The size and population of Casara probably diminished as the economic conditions generally declined. It is however still possible that the Casaran harbors continued to serve Roman merchants, as did the Rhodian harbors, and continued to have economic power to maintain the city. In addition, considering the expansion of piracy in the second and first centuries B.C., the importance of harbors must have increased for the merchantmen, as refuge places in cases of danger or for overnight accommodations, especially in this region due to its relative proximity to Coracesium. Casara was located at the middle of the Loryma peninsula which was not lost earlier than 210 A.D.. The city continued to be inhabited well into the Byzantine period and probably the reason for that was the convenience of its harbors for anchorage and maintenance.

5.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, Casara became was founded in a city scale in late fifth century B.C., coinciding with the synoecism of Rhodes in 408/7 B.C. This territory might well been already Rhodian before the synoecism, but with the steady rise in Rhodian economic power after 408 B.C. more funding was possibly provided for the development of this city which became a Peraean deme center in 395 B.C. After 332 B.C. when a Macedonian garrison was installed in Rhodes and the full support of Alexander the Great was achieved, Rhodian trade and consequently Rhodian economy started to dominate the entire Eastern Mediterranean. The reflection of this wealth on the island, can be observed in Casara, where more inscriptions and possibly monuments dated to this period begun to appear. It is also clear that the Casaran harbors were more frequented by merchant ships in this period. The period of wealth at Rhodes and her Peraea reached its peak in 190 B.C. with the acquisition of Lycia and Caria.

[281]R.S. Carter, "The 'Stepped Pyramids' of the Loryma Peninsula," *Ist. Mitt.* 32 (1982) 182; H. Van Gelder, *Geschichte*

The sudden decline in Rhodian power and economy occurred after 166 B.C. when Delos became a free port, and the luxury trade has shifted to Delos. Although Rhodes could keep her control on mainly the grain trade and wine trade, after 166 B.C. she never could gain back her monopoly on Mediterranean trade again. Loss of Subject Peraea in 165 B.C. followed this shortly. The loss of subject Peraea must have effected the importance and significance of Casara as a military base near important subject demes and a Peraean harbor in the Rhodian trade network. Nonetheless, Rhodes continued to control a considerable part of sea trade and kept her navy at least down to 67 B.C., when Rhodian warships were included in Roman navy formed by Pompey to defeat the pirates of Cilicia. Another crucial date in Rhodian history is 30 B.C., the annexation of Egypt to Rome, which eventually meant the total loss of the control over the grain trade for Rhodes. Finally the loss of the Incorporated Peraea at some time after 210 A.D. put the final point to Rhodian presence on the mainland, and also marked the end of the Rhodian demes, including Casara, where no archaeological remain beyond the third century A.D. was observed.

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der Alten Rhodien (1900) 193.

Chapter VI : Conclusion

6.1. Archaeological evidence from Casara

The archaeological evidence from Casara may be grouped under four types: (1) pottery collected during the 1982 and 1995 Asardibi surveys; (2) a variety of archaeological material studied from Serçe Limanı; (3) inscriptions from Casara; (4) and architectural remains.

The interpretation of this evidence is mainly concerned with the reconstruction of Casaran history and the context of the site in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Eastern Mediterranean. The description of its geographical location in relation to other sites in the area, its position related to the trade routes and its interdependence with other contemporary states, and principally Rhodes are significant factors in describing the function and significance of Casara. Therefore how the archaeological evidence from Casara and its harbors relates to the general picture of especially the Hellenistic period needs to be examined.

6.1.2. Underwater surveys at Asardibi

The study of archaeological remains at Asardibi includes the finds of the 1982, 1995 and 1996 Asardibi Underwater Surveys. The ceramic finds from Asardibi are in general deposits of different periods. The findspots of these parallel to the coastline suggest that they represent part of the debris which naturally collects in a harbor. In addition, it represents various types of fine ware, coarse ware, amphorae, pithoi and roof tiles. The material brought from the site in 1995 involves fine wares of different types. The results of the study on this material can be grouped as follows:

a. The harbor was in use from the late fifth century B.C. to the third century A.D.. An intensity in the third, second and the first centuries B.C. was noted.

b. The pottery from Asardibi represents parallels of types widespread in the Eastern Mediterranean. Parallels for Asardibi finds were identified in archaeological sites such as Athens, Corinth, Pergamon, Cnidos, Cos, Rhodes, Cyprus, Antioch, Tarsus, and many others throughout the Mediterranean world.

c. Apart from the numerous examples of typical Rhodian amphorae which were in circulation generally between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.[282], the other seven amphora types, identified by the survey team of INA in 1996[283], have no parallels in other sites. Their unusual shapes and manufacture suggest that they were local productions of small workshops serving coastal trade.

d. The presence of the pithoi and roof tiles points to the possible cargoes of the vessels using this harbor.

6.1.3. Underwater excavations and surveys at Serçe Limanı

The Serçe Limanı 11th-century Glass Wreck excavation, the Serçe Limanı Hellenistic Wreck excavation, and the Serçe Limanı Anchorage Survey are the archaeological studies carried on at Serçe Limanı. Among those especially the study of the finds from the Hellenistic Wreck and Anchorage Survey are significant, since they are dated to the period of occupation of Casara.

The Hellenistic Wreck is dated to 280-275 B.C.[284]. Black-glazed ware and well preserved plain ware were found lying directly on top of hull remains, and therefore there is no doubt that they were associated with the wreck. Fine ware from this wreck has parallels in Athens, Corinth, Alexandria, Tarsus, Delos and sites in Palestine[285]; and plain ware, in Rhodes, Egypt, Cyprus, Tarsus and Samaria. Both classes date to the third century B.C.[286]. The amphora stamps from the Hellenistic Wreck date to 280-275 B.C.. And in addition, the dates of the finds from the Anchorage Survey support the idea of frequent Hellenistic and Roman use of the harbor, as well as evidence for earlier and later uses. Additional ceramic finds recovered from other parts of the site were highly fragmentary and the wide range of dates represented, from Hellenistic to Roman, support the idea that these were part of the debris which collected in this harbor[287]. This debris is similar in date and type to the Asardibi debris and supports the idea that both harbors of Casara were used concurrently. The distinction between amphora types suggests the employment of

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[282]M. Sciallano and P. Sibella, *Amphores, comment les identifier?* (Aix-en-Provence 1994).

[283]P. Sibella, personal communication.

[284]C. Pulak, and R. F. Townsend, "The Hellenistic Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 91 (1987) 31-57.

[285]Ibid. 43-46.

[286]Ibid. 43-49.

[287]Ibid. 43.

Asardibi in coastal trade and of Serçe Limanı in transportation between Rhodes and the Peraea as well as in international trade

6.1.4. Epigraphic evidence

Ptolemy refers to Serçe Limanı as Κρησσω λιμην in the list of the settlements on the 'Loryma Peninsula' and places it between Loryma and Phoinix. This statement is confirmed by Pliny who locates Portus Cressa next to Rhodes and at a distance of twenty miles. Therefore, on the basis of the descriptions of ancient authors and the epigraphical evidence from neighboring towns, we can locate securely Portus Cressa or Κρησσω λιμην at Serçe Limanı.

The first scholar who identified the ruins between Serçe Limanı and Asardibi as Casara is Theodore Bent who visited the site in 1888, and the study of inscriptions from the site by Hicks in the following year supported this identification.

The inscriptions from Casara are in general funerary inscriptions since the majority of the remains from the city of Casara are those of the necropolis. The most significant information provided by the epigraphical evidence is the name of the site and its period of occupation. The dates of the inscriptions confirm the dates provided by the pottery from Asardibi: fourth century B.C. to third century A.D.. It can therefore, be securely proposed that Casara was occupied between these dates prior to its Byzantine era. In addition most of the inscriptions are dated to third and second centuries B.C., pointing to a heyday of the settlement coinciding well with the history of this area and the ceramic evidence from Asardibi and Serçe Limanı.

The second important piece of information concerns the administrative status of the city. Reference to the Camiran cult of Eueteria on one of the inscriptions suggests that Casara served as a deme center attached to Camiros on Rhodes. Another inscription points to the presence of a local koine: Asklapista, an indication of the cultural and social organization of Casara.

6.1.5. Architectural remains at Casara

Some wall and habitation remains as well as the remains of the necropolis can be seen today in the valley connecting Asardibi and Serçe Limanı, namely the place where the city of Casara lies. This valley

contains many tombstones - in the form of stepped pyramids - walls, the remains of a peripteral temple, scattered masonry of Hellenistic type, inscriptions, and the remains of two Byzantine churches.

The tombstones are the most significant remains. They are scattered on both sides of the valley and there are over fifty tombstones in good condition[288]. The most important fact we learn from these funerary monuments is that they indicate the presence of an elite putting up these monuments in the deme of Casara. This demonstrates a sense of prosperity and social ranking at Casara and possibly provides information about the social structure.

Most standing wall remains were probably Byzantine structures constructed of reused Hellenistic blocks. The remains of two churches are still visible on the site, but the in situ column bases of a peripteral temple, observed by Bent, must have been buried since 1888. Some wall blocks of worked local stone demonstrate that elaborate buildings of undetermined use were constructed in Casara, possibly in the Hellenistic period.

The white marble fragments of probably sculpture or sarcophagi are scattered all over the site. However, no complete pieces were observed. It was not possible to find the marble fragment of a draped figure, noted by Carter[289], in my visits in 1995 and 1996, but some broken fragments in the area described by Carter might have belonged to this statue. The marble is visually comparable to Docimeian marble. Still, in any case, the marble was imported from another region and this fact points to the presence of a certain economic prosperity at Casara.

6.2. The reconstruction of the history of Casara

The archaeological evidence determines the periods of occupation of Casara as Hellenistic and early Roman times. One can conclude therefore that Casara reached its most prosperous era during Rhodian dominance. For that reason, the settlement of Casara needs to be analyzed as a Rhodian city since it would have been administrated in the same way as the cities on Rhodes, and its development was parallel to that of the Rhodian cities on the island. Disparities between the Rhodian cities on the island and Casara are

[288]R.S. Carter, "The 'Stepped Pyramids' of the Loryma Peninsula," *Ist. Mitt.* 32 (1982) 188.

[289]Ibid. 188.

probably due to the latter's location on the mainland rather than on the island. This situation resulted in closer contact with the other neighboring cultures and facilitated the continuation of earlier traditions[290].

Casara was a politically independent settlement prior to its incorporation by Rhodes in the late fifth century B.C., when it was refounded on a city scale with Rhodian support. In 395 B.C., with the introduction of the deme system, Casara became a deme that included the important harbor city of Loryma. The acquisition of Lycia and Caria in 190 B.C. generated the trade activities within the Rhodian Peraea, between Peraea and Rhodes and probably with the advancing role of Rhodes in the international trade, the Peraean harbors were also involved in international trade to a greater extent. Probably Casara received its share from the international trade network maintained by Rhodes, and the city prospered either by the taxation of goods passing through its harbors or by actively taking part in trade. Furthermore, the enlargement of the Subject Peraea increased the military importance of Casara since the cities of the Incorporated Peraea were presumably attributed a new function as the military bases to intervene in the rebellions and civic turmoils of the Subject Peraea, and to accommodate important officers and soldiers.

With the loss of almost all the Subject Peraea in 165 B.C., the period of prosperity came to an end. However, with the decreased but still existing economic support of Rhodes and the fine position of the peninsula still on the important trade routes, Casara maintained itself as a trading post. Although the architectural remains of the city are more elaborate in the Hellenistic period, imported marble was still used at least for funerary and possibly honorific monuments in Roman times and the pottery from both harbors of Casara confirm the continuation in the use of the harbors for trade. Rhodes lost its control of the Egyptian grain trade in 30 B.C., with the annexation of Egypt to Rome, and probably lost Casara and the rest of her Incorporated Peraea some time after 210 A.D..

6.3. Function and context of Casara

Epigraphic evidence suggests patterns for the extent of Rhodian territories on the mainland and some information about the administration and political situation in the Peraea. However the function of

[290]The stepped tombstones are the most obvious manifestations of this occurrence.

especially the Incorporated Peraea is still obscure[291] and further survey and excavation are required to bring an explanation to the question, 'what was the significance of this territory for Rhodes?'.

The existing data suggest two possible interpretations for the function of the Incorporated Peraea. First[292], as proposed by Carter and Van Gelder, this territory was acquired because it was immediately close to Rhodes, and the Rhodians were anxious since the harbors on this peninsula had the potential of developing as rival centers[293]. For this reason Rhodes acquired this territory and to stop its development, isolated it from trade activities by making it a military base, and therefore a 'Prohibited Area' where the access was limited to Rhodian officials due to security reasons. The form of the stepped tombs was transferred from Egypt, due to the association between Caria and Egypt since early periods, and because the area was isolated, this type of gravestones was not widespread elsewhere, but became a practice limited to the Loryma Peninsula.

The first reason why this idea can not be considered satisfactory is related to the archaeological evidence from Caria. We know that stepped funerary monuments are seen in other parts of Caria prior to the incorporation of Casara to Rhodes. Although this stepped form might have been transferred from Egypt, this does not explain the later occurrence of the stepped tombstones only on the Loryma Peninsula. It also suggests a certain contact between the Egypt and the Loryma Peninsula during its Rhodian occupation, which naturally cancels the idea of 'isolation'. The second reason lies in the nature of shipbuilding technology. Neither Serçe Limanı nor Asardibi harbors would have been useful for the warships since we know that naval commanders liked to beach their ships, even for overnight if possible, to prevent them from becoming waterlogged[294]. The coastline only provides space for beaching a few small ships both at Serçe Limanı and Asardibi. Another very important point is that the Rhodian navy was the most important element

[291]The function of the Subject Peraea is more clear since the Subject demes were in general already established centers who paid tribute to Rhodes. Therefore they somehow contributed to Rhodian economy. The products of these territories were also of economic value and were traded by Rhodian intermediaries. The territories of the Incorporated demes, such as Casara, are not fertile lands, and in the best case these demes would maintain themselves. There is no evidence about the presence of mines or other natural resources in the area either.

[292]This idea was presented by R.S. Carter, "The 'Stepped Pyramids' of the Loryma Peninsula," *Ist. Mitt.* 32 (1982) 182-183 and H. Van Gelder, *Geschichte der Alten Rhodier* (1900) 193f.

[293]These centers might have become trade centers and threatened Rhodian trade or become military powers capable of attacking the island.

[294]J.F. Frost, "The 'Harbour' at Halieis," in A. Raban ed., Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257] (Haifa 1985) 65; for ancient reference to the subject see Thucydides 7.12.3-4; Herodotus 7.59; Xenophon, Hellenica 1.5.10.

of Rhodian power. In the third century B.C., Rhodes had 30 quinqueremes[295], and the Rhodian dockyards were guarded in a very strict way[296], since the navy is the easiest target to attack in order to destroy Rhodian power. Furthermore, it is known that the navy was at Rhodes when the island was besieged by Demetrios in 306 B.C.[297]; and it is quite probable, since the navy is the only military power Rhodes possessed, that the Rhodians preferred to keep it as close as possible to protect themselves. It can therefore be suggested that there was no possibility of accommodating the Rhodian navy in Casaran harbors, although temporary accommodation of small groups of warships in war times is possible. Casara's proximity to the problematic large cities of the Subject Peraea, such as Kaunos and Stratoniceia, and its strategic location on the isthmus must have assigned a certain military function to Casara. The location of Phoinix on the mountain behind Casara must also be related to the defense of this isthmus. In addition, it is significant that the larger city of Loryma was left under Casaran control; while many other smaller places such as Thyssanous became deme centers. Casara's position was crucial to defend the Loryma Peninsula and stop access to the southwest part of this isthmus; whereas the location of Loryma was not strategic, since once the enemy had reached the tip of the peninsula, the whole Peraea would have been lost. However archaeological evidence suggest Casara was either the arsenal of Rhodes on the mainland or that it was a major military base and a restricted area does not exist.

It is more likely that the Casaran harbors were mainly involved in trade as the underwater evidence demonstrates. Whether Casara was involved in local trade or in international trade cannot be determined. Nonetheless, its location on the Loryma peninsula and the meteorological situation suggest an extensive use for this harbor city, since it had a favorable position on major trade routes of antiquity. It is clear that even during the short sailing season (from April to June and September to October) dangerous storms are not completely unexpected. The direction of the prevailing summer winds, the Etesians, from the north also defines the nature of maritime traffic. Although the ships can sail south to Egypt without any difficulty, it is difficult to sail back north and they would need to follow the coastline towards the west to benefit from the northerly winds. For that reason, and because the shipbuilding technology only allowed a vessel to sail in

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295A quinquereme was the fastest major unit afloat in which five oarsmen worked a single large oar. These were the most biggest and the most effective warships of the fourth and the third centuries due to the capabilities of maneuver. Rhodian navy averaged about forty major units, such as triremes, quadriremes and quinqueremes, and a large number of special type of craft created by Rhodian architects, triemiolia, designed for the particular purpose of chasing down pirate ships, hemiolia (L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (Minerva Press USA 1959) 152).

[296]C. Starr, *The Influence of Sea Power on Ancient History* (Oxford 1989) 54.

[297]L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (Minerva Press USA 1959) 153.

open sea for a short period without maintenance, ships followed the coastlines and therefore passed through the Loryma peninsula[298]. Since Rhodes gained most of its revenues through the income from serving harbor facilities and the taxes she collected from the merchants, it would be logical then, to suggest that she encouraged the officials stationed in Peraean harbors to do the same.

The research and the examination of the major ports and harbors of the Mediterranean are important to understand the nature of the trade. It is significant to learn the main exporters and importers for certain goods, especially the basic food products, since the balances of economy and the organization of trade routes must be based on this exchange. However large scale economy and its organization involves more than simply the importers and exporters. Merchant or entrepreneur who raised the capital to purchase the cargo and rent the cargo space (*emporos*) and the moneylender who supplied him with the funds are the two distinct personalities[299] generally involved in a certain trade business[300]. The city of Rhodes[301] represents a very good example of a city without agricultural land, without even territory, but with a well managed, favorable and large harbor, located on the crossroads of the main trade routes. Therefore, it is not indispensable for a trade post to have a hinterland with agricultural means[302] and it is possible to acquire political and economic power just by mediating the trade activities.

In order to understand the large scale commercial economy, we must acknowledge that most trade was coastal, carried out by small ships which loaded and unloaded at ports with minimal facilities. The small ports were served by small coastal vessels. The volume of coastal trade was limited and the size of the markets served by the ports were restricted by the relatively difficult and expensive nature of land transport

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298The remains of the peripteral temple at Casara are significant at this point as they might demonstrate the presence of trade in this harbor. Along with providing a period of rest for the crew, ship repairs, provisions, and money changers, the temples are one of the most significant elements of ports (Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 5), since the merchants or sailors did seek out temples for the different gods during the cruise. Therefore the further study and excavation of this temple at Casara are crucial to learn more about the nature of trade in this harbor.

[299]*Naukleros*, the owner of the ship, is also involved in the issue when dealing with sea trade.

[300]L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 70.

[301]Among port-geographers there exist different opinions as to which component is more important - a favorable site or a geographical location within an area which generates a great amount of traffic (Y. Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports," in A. Raban ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima 24-28.6.83 [BAR International Series 257]* (Haifa 1985) 1).

[302]In addition all the cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, cities on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, Greece and Crimea constituted hinterland of Rhodes while Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrene functioned as the foreland or vice versa.

from the port into the interior[303]. Coastal trade contributed to international commerce by means of collecting small cargoes from the production centers and gathering them at the main port of the area from where they were shipped to the large markets. The goods that were expected in return were also shipped to small cities by means of coastal vessels. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Casara must have been a harbor city of this type: its maintenance depended on the coastal trade and its defense on the military support of Rhodes. It functioned as a Rhodian harbor on the mainland where the local products of the smaller demes and dependent cities were shipped to go to Rhodes, and from there to other international markets. Each contributing city was given its share of the products, such as grain, and other goods that were received in return through Casara. In brief Casara contributed to the defense and control of Subject Peraea by means of providing shelter for the navy when required and to the Rhodian economy by providing harbor facilities for the traders and functioning as a coastal harbor to maintain other settlements on the Loryma Peninsula.

6.4.

Rhodes' location on the trade routes, her geographical position, the large size of the island and meteorological reasons that compelled the *emporoi* to stop at Rhodes instead of rival harbors on the north, such as Delos[304], provided her the convenient conditions for becoming one of the major powers of the Hellenistic period. The skills of the Rhodians in trade issues and in solving the political and economic problems concerning the safety of trade also contributed to the success of the island in becoming the most important *emporion* of the Mediterranean and one of the most pre-eminent political powers in Hellenistic and early Roman Periods. The island state was formed in the late fifth century and this is roughly when the Rhodians started to gain economic power. This is the point when the path leading to the monopoly of grain trade was initiated. Therefore it might be suggested that synoecism itself was a result of Rhodes' well designed strategy for developing her economy. Consequently, it was no surprise what Rhodes became at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, since she started to establish the necessary contacts with the major exporters of grain, wine, timber and other goods and the buyers of these and many other trade goods. The construction of the merchant marine to transport the goods on Rhodian ships, standardization of the amounts

[303]G.W. Houston, "Ports in Perspective: Some Comparative Materials on Roman Merchant Ships and Ports," *AJA* 92 (1988) 563.

[304]L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 80.

of trade goods[305], establishment of a maritime law, and the construction of the navy to provide the safety of trade routes, all seem to have been planned steps taken to erect the Rhodian trade empire. This systematic development provided Rhodes a strong, well established position in economic activities, which were also supported by the capital that the Rhodian moneylenders acquired. Her position was so fundamentally established that in spite of the Roman obstacle of declaring Delos a free port to destroy Rhodian economy, this did not have such a destructive effect on Rhodes who continued to control the Mediterranean grain trade.

The acquisition of land on the opposite mainland, was a strategy of diffusion. The Peraea was of economic value and especially the taxes and tributes collected provided a considerable income for Rhodes. Rhodian religious traditions and cults were established in the Peraean cities but it was not always enough to keep large cities under control, and it was necessary to keep the subject territories garrisoned to discourage rebellions. However, the alternative way of controlling these cities and making them totally dependent lay in the area of expertise of Rhodes: trade. While there was regular interchange between the Peraea and Rhodes, there was equally if not more frequent exchange between neighboring parts of the Peraea[306]. The distinction between Subject and Incorporated Peraea lies in the two different patterns of diffusion. The Incorporated Peraea was rather included in the Rhodian religious traditions. Through the establishment of Rhodian cults, the centralized system of interchange and feedback was organized and the inhabitants of these cities were given Rhodian citizenship. Subject Peraea, on the other hand, was only included in the diversified commercial interchange, possibly because most places in this territory were already developed centers with distinct traditions and social patterns by the time they were acquired by Rhodes. In fact, the difference between Subject and Incorporated Peraea is that the inhabitants of the Incorporated Peraea were Rhodian citizens and the others were tributary to Rhodes.

It is not even known when Rhodes first acquired land on the mainland and how. It seems possible that we do have an example of a very slow Hellenistic diffusion. Any attempt to suggest what might have been the future prospect of this expansion on the mainland would be highly speculative. However it is clear

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305The stamps on Rhodian amphora handles indicate that the containers were checked and the contents were controlled by Rhodian officials prior to their shipment (Y. Garlan, "Greek Amphorae and Trade," in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, C.R. Whittaker eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (University of California Press 1983) 32).

306I have adapted here the ideas presented by J.M. Fossey (in "Relations between Diaspora and Greek Proper in Hellenistic/Roman Times" in J.M. Fossey ed., *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic*

that Rhodes, an island state commanding the dominant merchant fleet and navy of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, and maintaining this system by the revenues from exchanging the basic food products between the other contemporary states of all sizes, possibly aimed to enlarge the Rhodian state and invested money for this project. In this sense, the loss of the Rhodian Peraea in the third century A.D., might be viewed as the destruction of the last Hellenistic kingdom, and definitely deserves further research and analysis.

6.5.

Ever since I started to study the city of Casara, I was faced with the difficulty of placing the city in a context, since its precise function in the Rhodian Peraea remained obscure. It was very difficult to find a logical way to explain Rhodian acquisition of territory on the mainland. It was clear that the naval power of Rhodes would not be able to defend this territory against any land attack and Rhodes might have instead counted on her political power, which she acquired through her control over Mediterranean trade. But still, the cost of acquisition, control, administration, and defense of these territories was high and the trade-like minded Rhodians would not have taken such a risk without the promise of considerable profit. A further puzzle was the distinction between Incorporated and Subject territories. Subject territories were really of some economic value, since they provided trade goods, and local productions, and paid tribute. Incorporated territories, basically the demes of the Loryma peninsula, do not seem to have had any economic value. The rocky Loryma peninsula lacks any natural resources or even agricultural land. It is even possible to think that the inhabitants either fed themselves by eating seafood or depended on Rhodes for food. The harbors of Casara and others on the Loryma peninsula must have been dealing with coastal trade and hosting international merchants. But it is hardly possible that any trader would seek out for a business transaction a harbor like Casara while the magnificent *emporion* of Rhodes lies only a few miles away. It is apparent then that no Peraean harbor would live on the profit gained from serving maintenance to the traders and on what is left over from coastal trade. Nonetheless, the inhabitants of these poor areas were given Rhodian citizenship. There seems to be an explanation for this curious situation: the Incorporated Peraea did not have any natural resources but had human resources.

Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times, vol. 1: From Antiquity to 1453 (Amsterdam 1991) 73-80), with reference to the Greek traders in the East.

The island state of Rhodes lacked manpower since the population she could accommodate on the island was limited and most of these citizens must have preferred to deal with trade and other related businesses. We know that Rhodians preferred that Rhodian merchant vessels be employed for the transportation of goods[307] and Rhodes had the biggest merchant marine of the period. Furthermore, the Rhodian navy was among the largest of the Hellenistic period. One interesting fact about this fleet is that it was commanded and manned by Rhodian citizens. The officers who commanded the warships were thoroughly trained and many made their way up through the ranks. However a great deal of success naturally depended upon the skills of the rowers since these ships, the triremes and their successors, had complicated rowing systems (which are still unknown) and maneuvers depended on the harmonious collaborative work of the rowers. It is possible that slaves were employed in the merchant vessels but not in warships since even one of the rowers can sabotage the whole tactical move of the ship at a crucial moment. I suggest that the citizens from the Incorporated Peraea were perfect candidates for such duties. This would explain the function of the Incorporated Peraea and the reason why the inhabitants of the Incorporated Peraea were given 'Rhodian citizenship' after it was made certain that their cities were constructed and they were thoroughly Hellenized through the establishment of Rhodian cults. The Incorporated deme centers were designed by Rhodians in such a way that they provided high life-standards for the inhabitants and also included the indirect control mechanisms such as administrative and military buildings. It was not at all a bad arrangement for the native population since they were given a status in the society and the chance of advancing in the navy if they were good enough. In addition, this incorporation enabled the modest harbors of the Incorporated Peraea to become directly involved more in international trade monopolized by Rhodian bankers and traders.

More research and survey is required to prove this last hypothesis but with the available evidence it seems that the only possible way to suggest a context to the city of Casara is to assume that Casarans served in the Rhodian navy, while the city functioned as a minor military base to provide feedback in cases of civic turmoils in Subject or Incorporated demes. It also served as a trade post providing maintenance and some simple harbor facilities either to the coastal vessels or merchant ships employed in the major international trade.

[307]L. Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* (Detroit 1984) 74.

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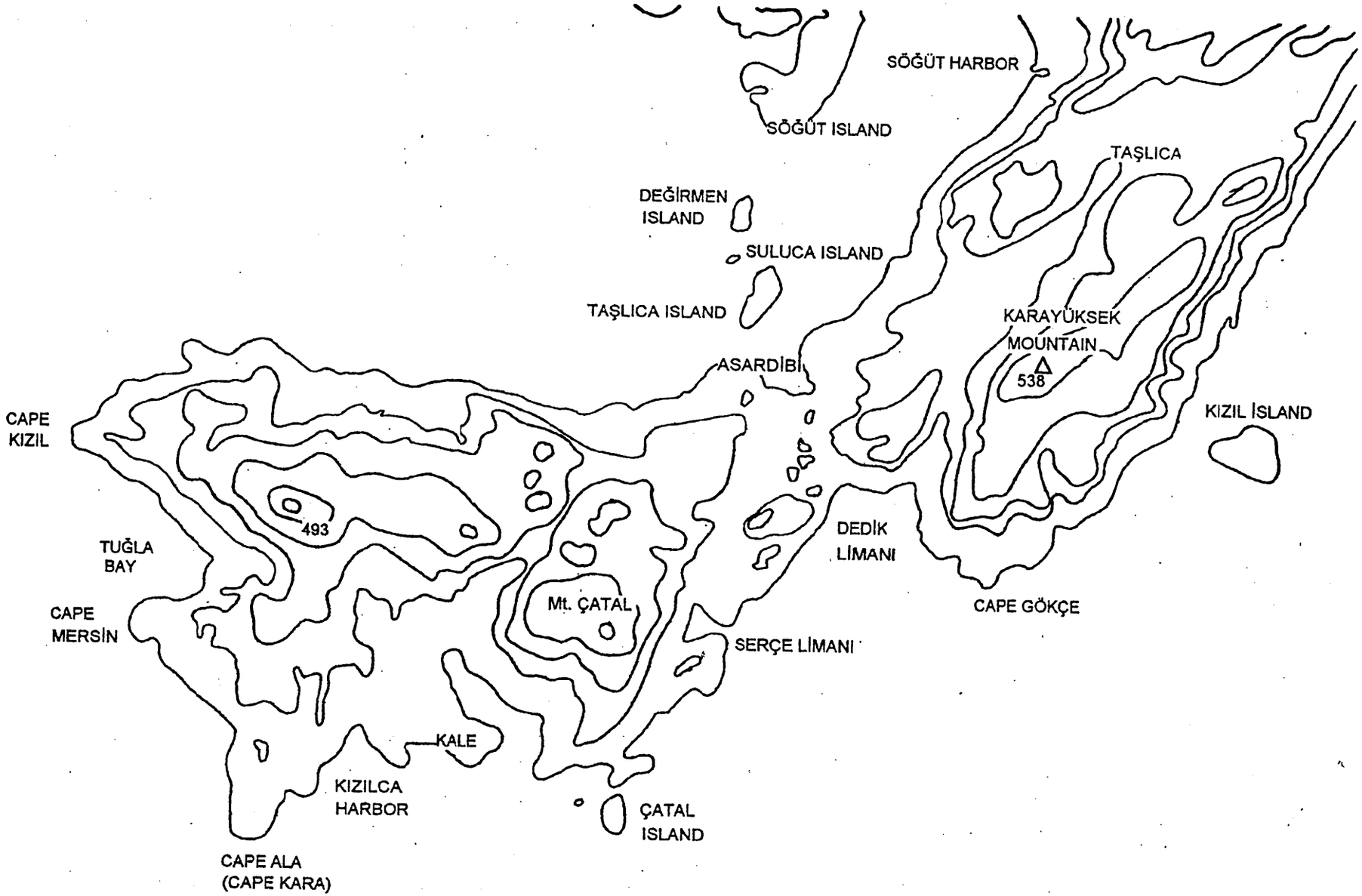
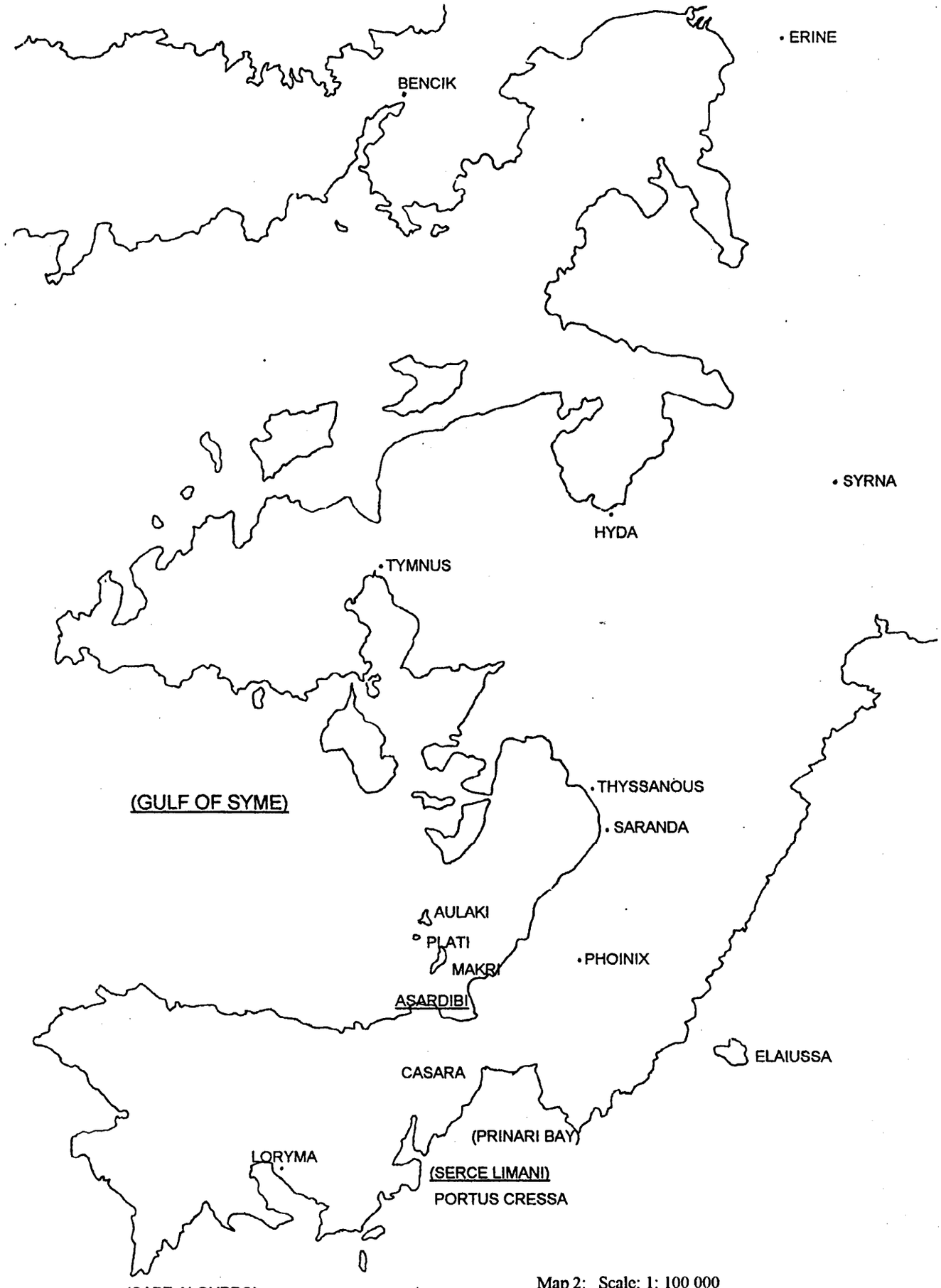
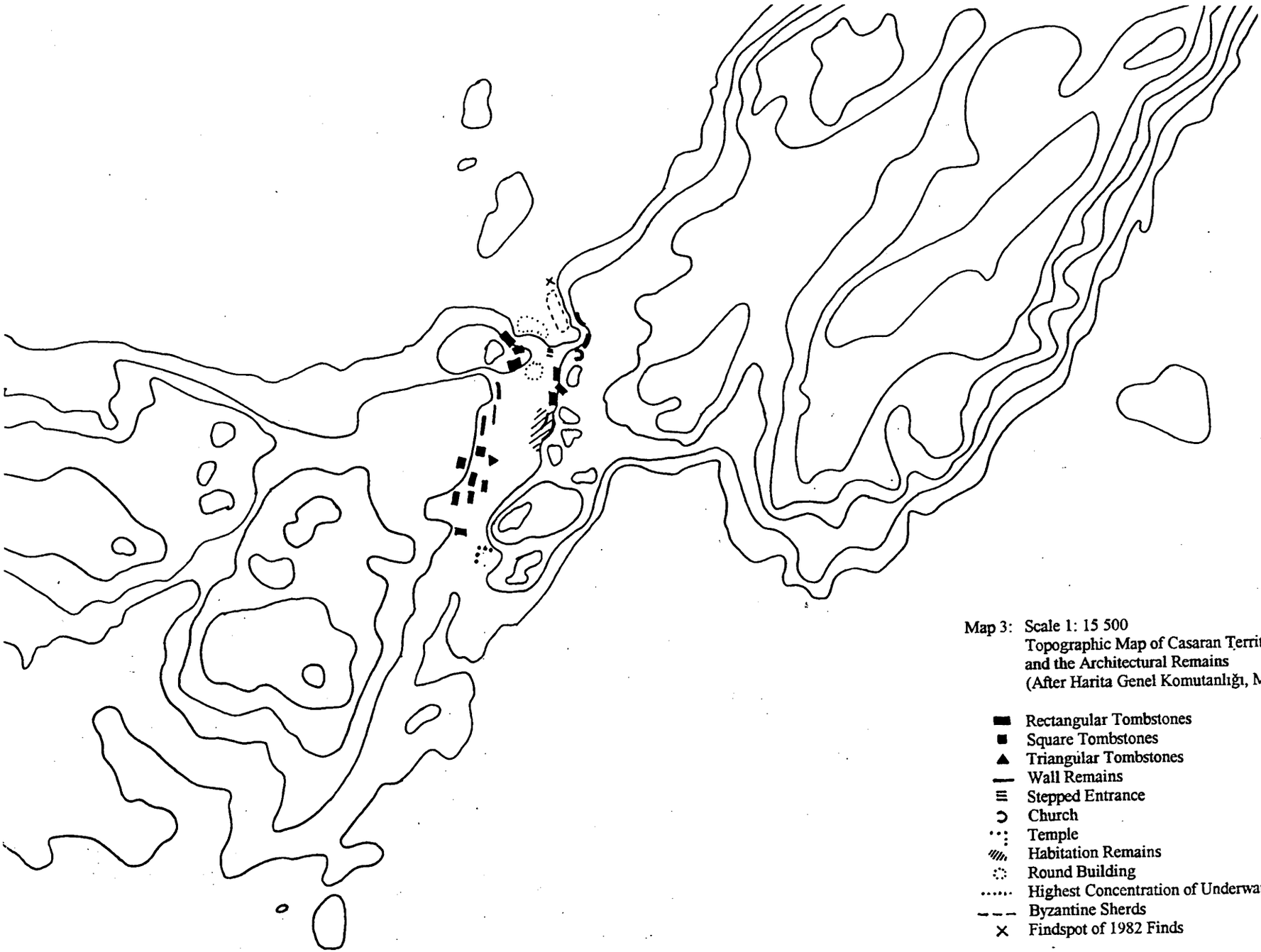


Map 1: Scale: 1: 62 500
Topographic Map of the Bozburun (Loryma) Peninsula.
(After Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Marmaris Map).

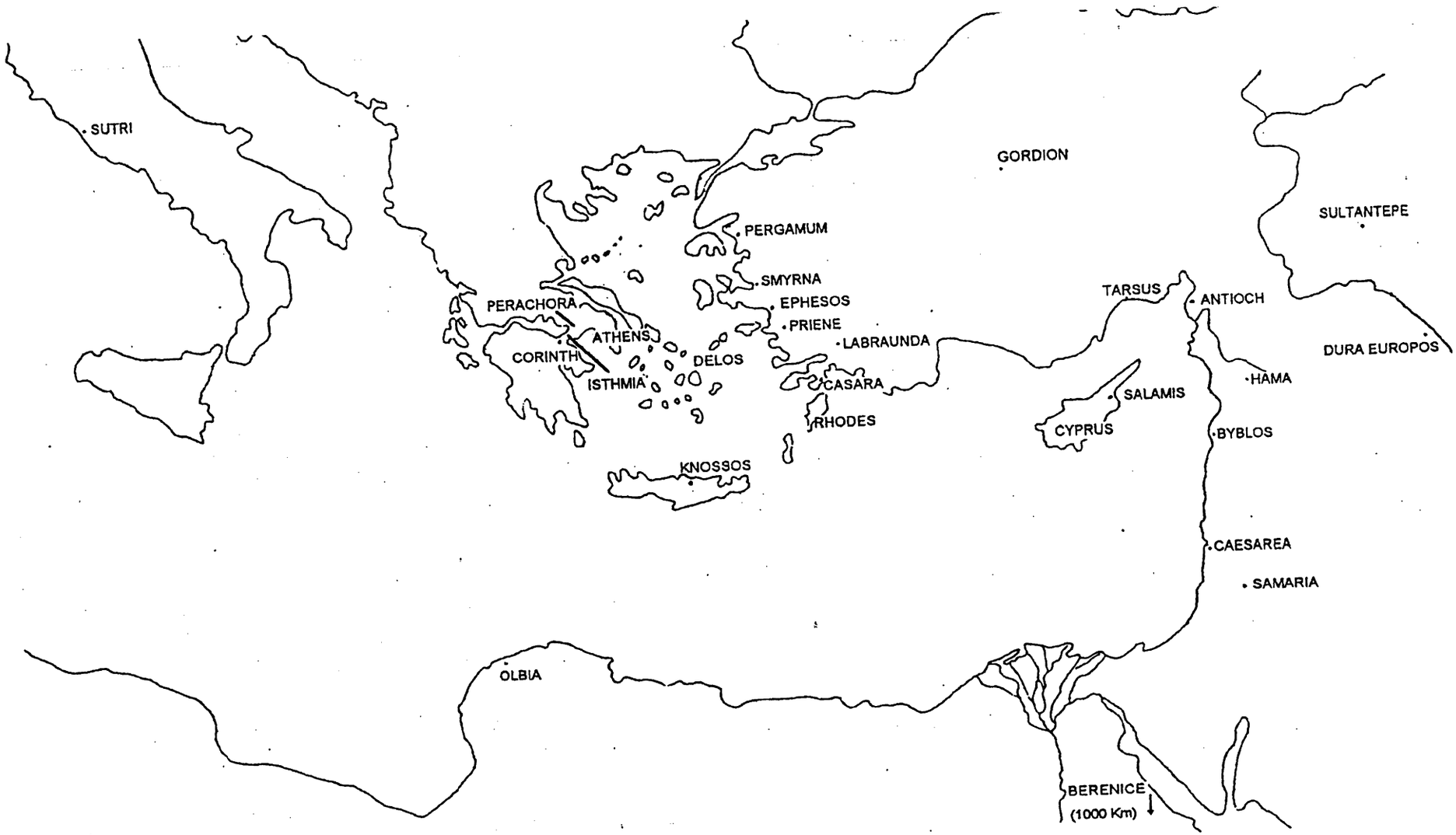


Map 2: Scale: 1: 100 000
Map of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Settlements on Loryma Peninsula.
(After T.C. Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı, Seyir, Hidrografi ve Oşinografi Dairesi Başkanlığı [İstanbul 1970], Bodrum Boğazı - Marmaris Map and Fraser P.M., and Bean, G.E., The Rhodian Peraea and the Islands [Oxford 1954]).

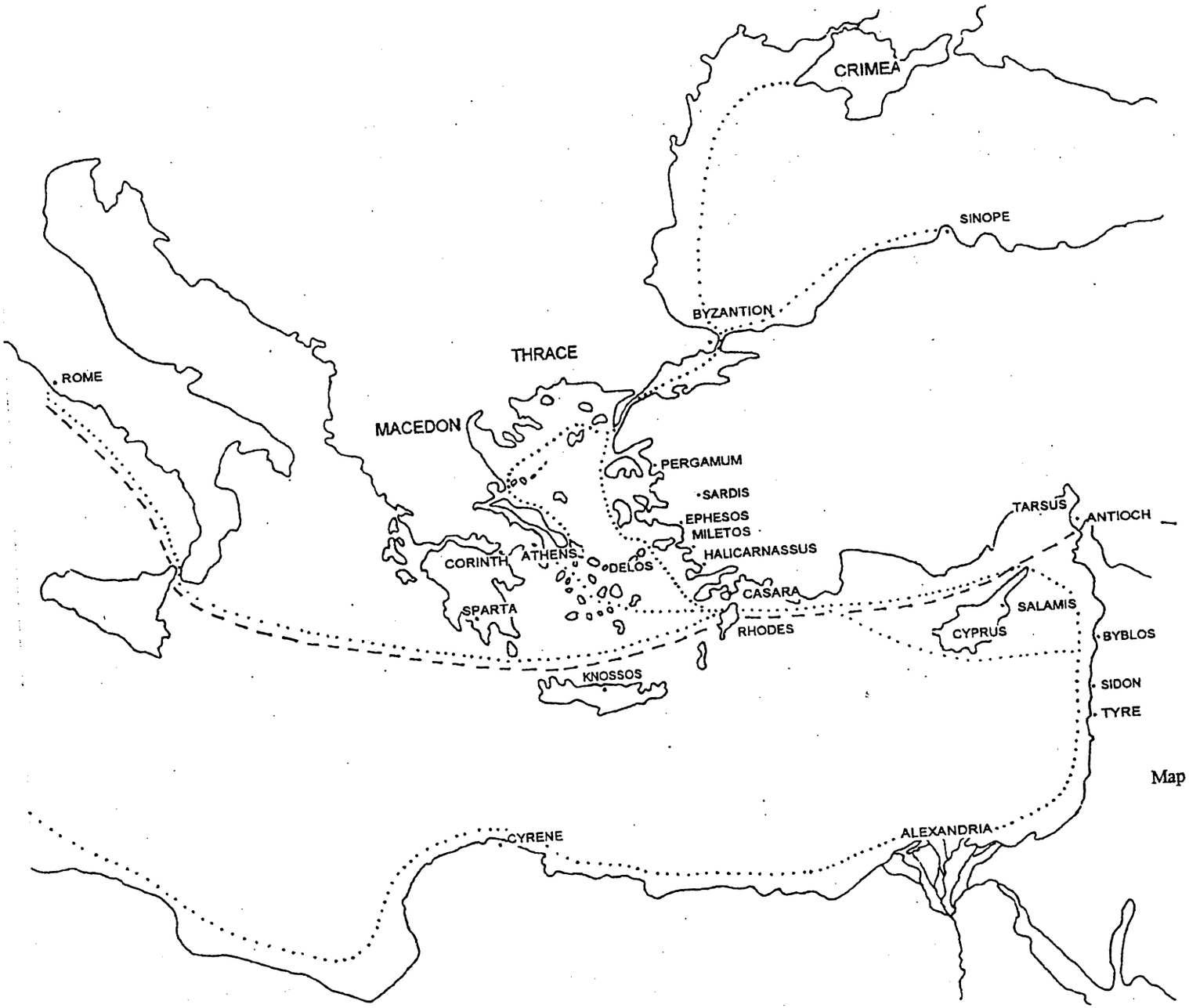


Map 3: Scale 1: 15 500
Topographic Map of Casaran Territory
and the Architectural Remains
(After Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Marmaris Map).

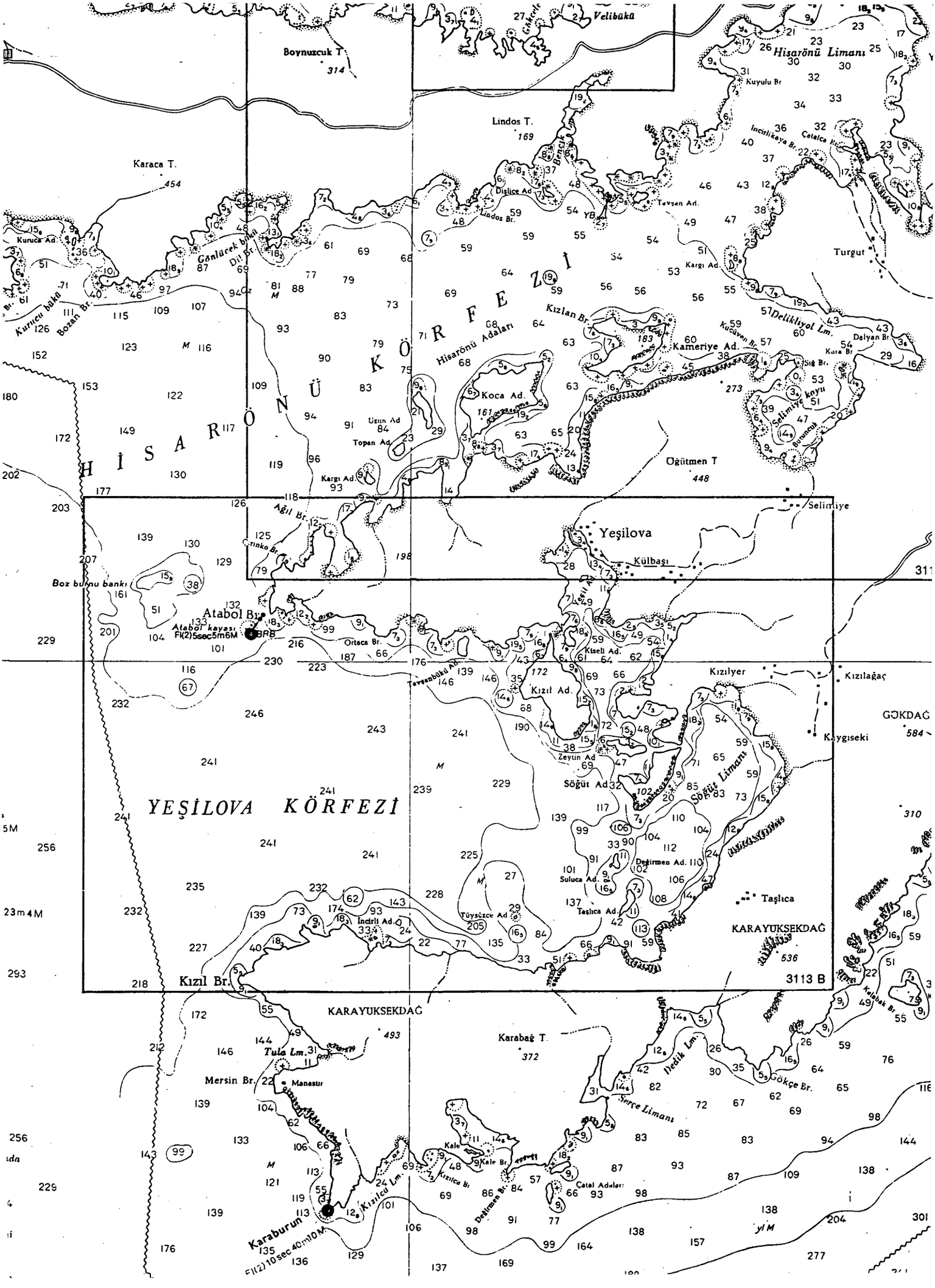
- Rectangular Tombstones
- Square Tombstones
- Triangular Tombstones
- Wall Remains
- Stepped Entrance
- Church
- Temple
- Habitation Remains
- Round Building
- Highest Concentration of Underwater Material
- Byzantine Sherds
- Findspot of 1982 Finds



Map 4: Scale: 1: 10 000 000
Map of Parallel Sites.



Map 5: Scale: 1: 10 000 000
Map of Hellenistic Trade Routes.
(After Sciallano, M and Sibella, P., Amphores, comment les identifier? [Aix-en-Provence 1994] 19 and Levi, P., Yunan Dünyası [İstanbul 1987] 186)


HİSARÖNÜ KÖRFEZİ
YEŞİLOVA KÖRFEZİ
KARAYUKSEKDAĞ
Boynuzcuk T.
Velibükü
Hisarönü Limanı
Lindos T.
Karaca T.
Kuyulu Br.
Turgut
Kargı Ad.
Kameriye Ad.
Delikliyol Lm.
Selimiye
Ögütmen T.
Yeşilova
Külbaşı
Atabol Br.
Kızılyer
Kızılağaç
GÖKDAĞ
Kaygıseki
Söğüt Limanı
Taşlıca
Kızıl Br.
Karaburun
Tula Lm.
Mersin Br.
Manastır
Karabağ T.
Dedik Lm.
Gökçe Br.
Sarçe Limanı
Çatal Adaları
Kızılca Lm.
Kale Br.
Değirmen Br.
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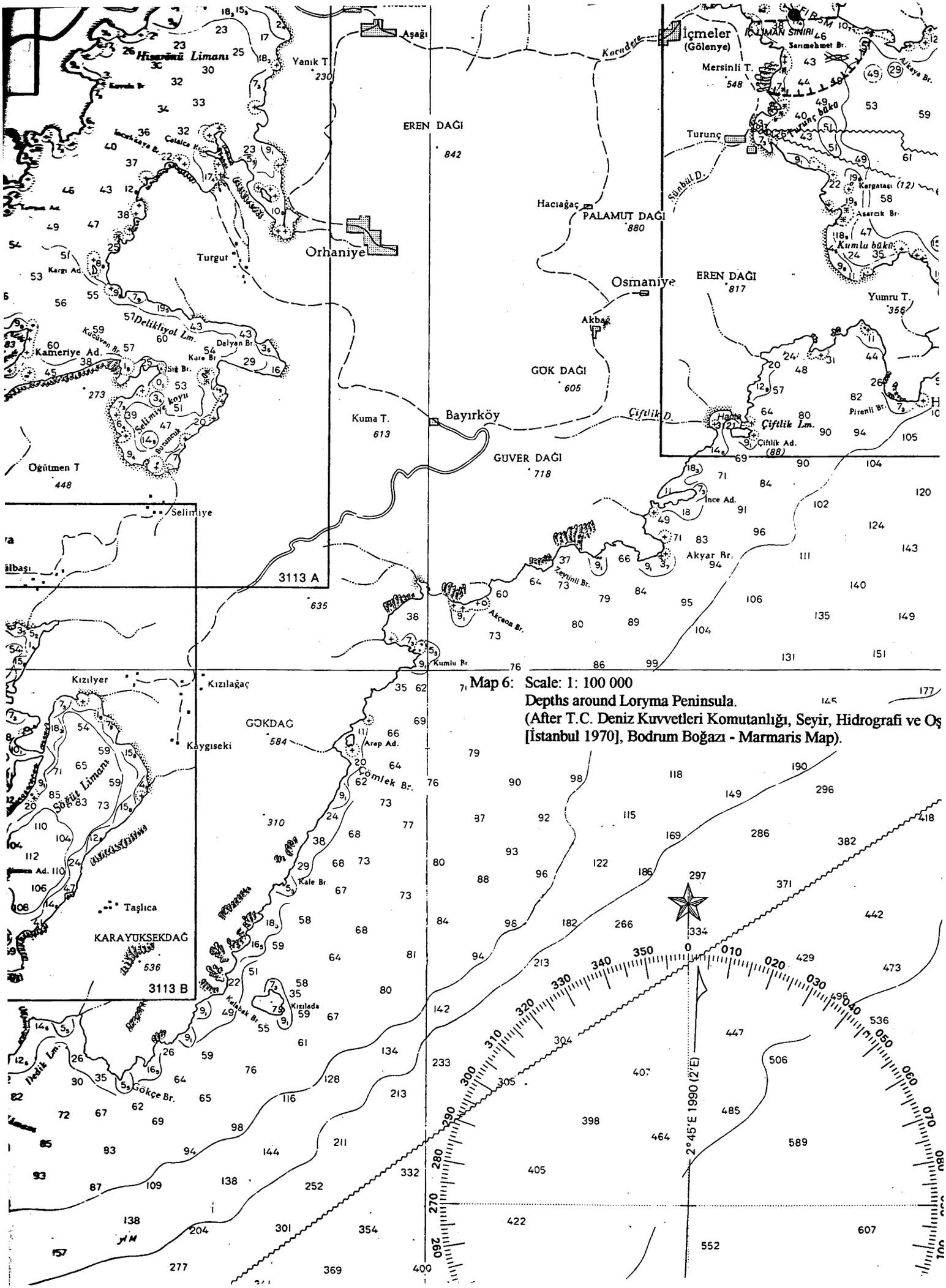
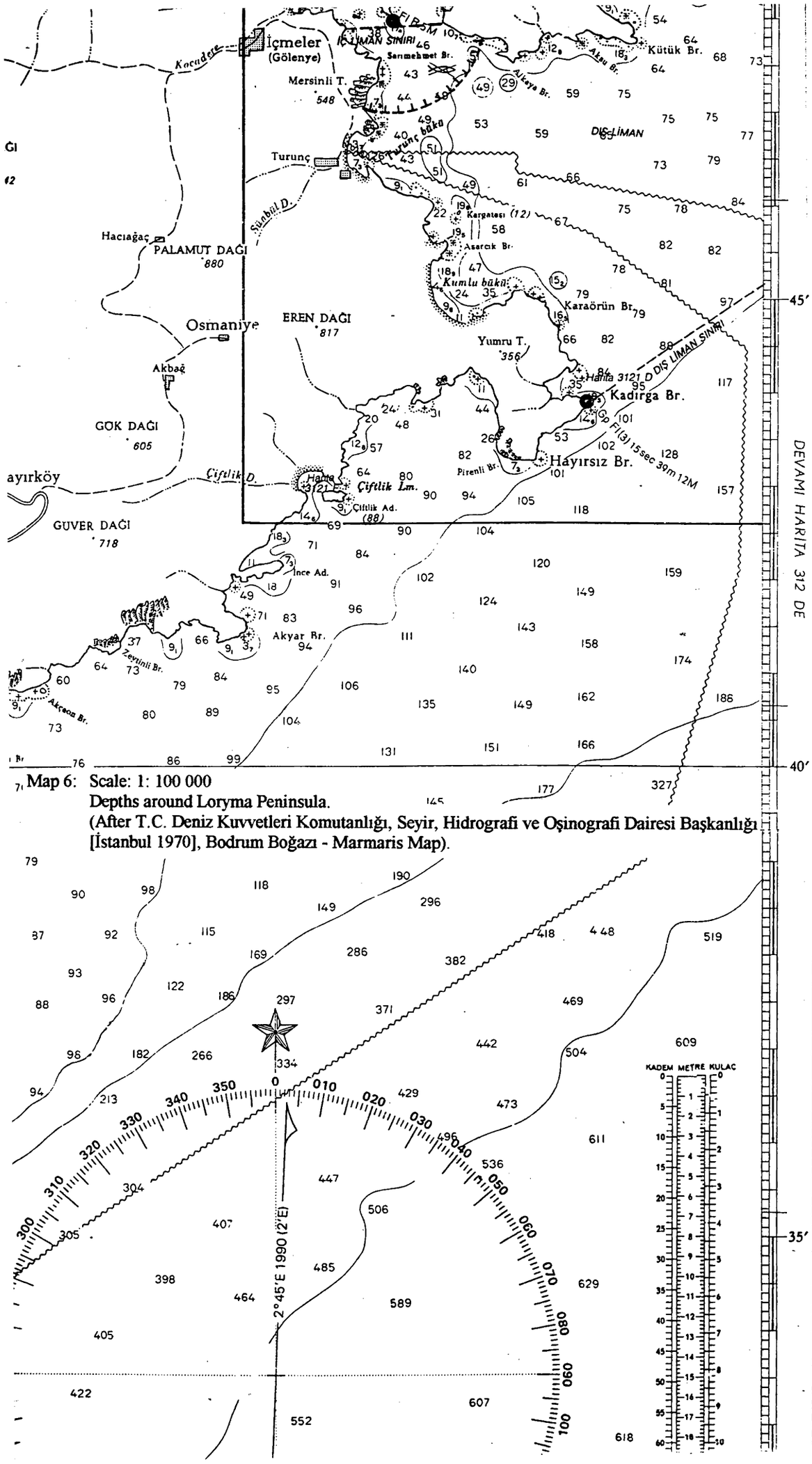


Map 6: Scale: 1: 100 000
Depths around Loryma Peninsula.
(After T.C. Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı, Seyir, Hidrografi ve Oş [İstanbul 1970], Bodrum Boğazı - Marmaris Map).



Map 6: Scale: 1: 100 000
Depths around Loryma Peninsula.
(After T.C. Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı, Seyir, Hidrografi ve Oşinografi Dairesi Başkanlığı [İstanbul 1970], Bodrum Boğazı - Marmaris Map).

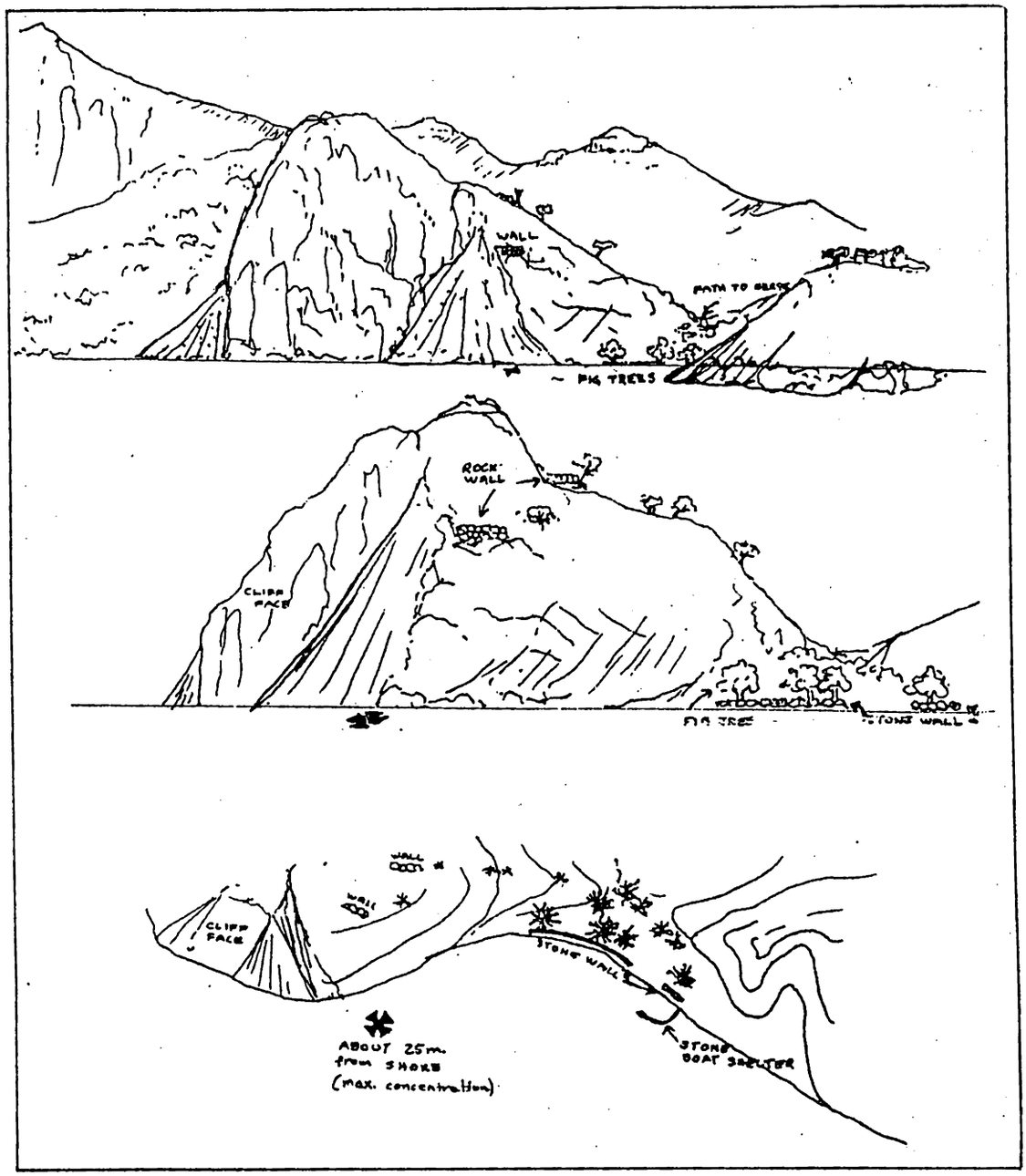


Illustration 1: Asardibi, the general view from the sea.
(Sketch by Cemal Pulak, Field Notebook p. 12).

Illustration 2: 'Stepped Pyramids'.

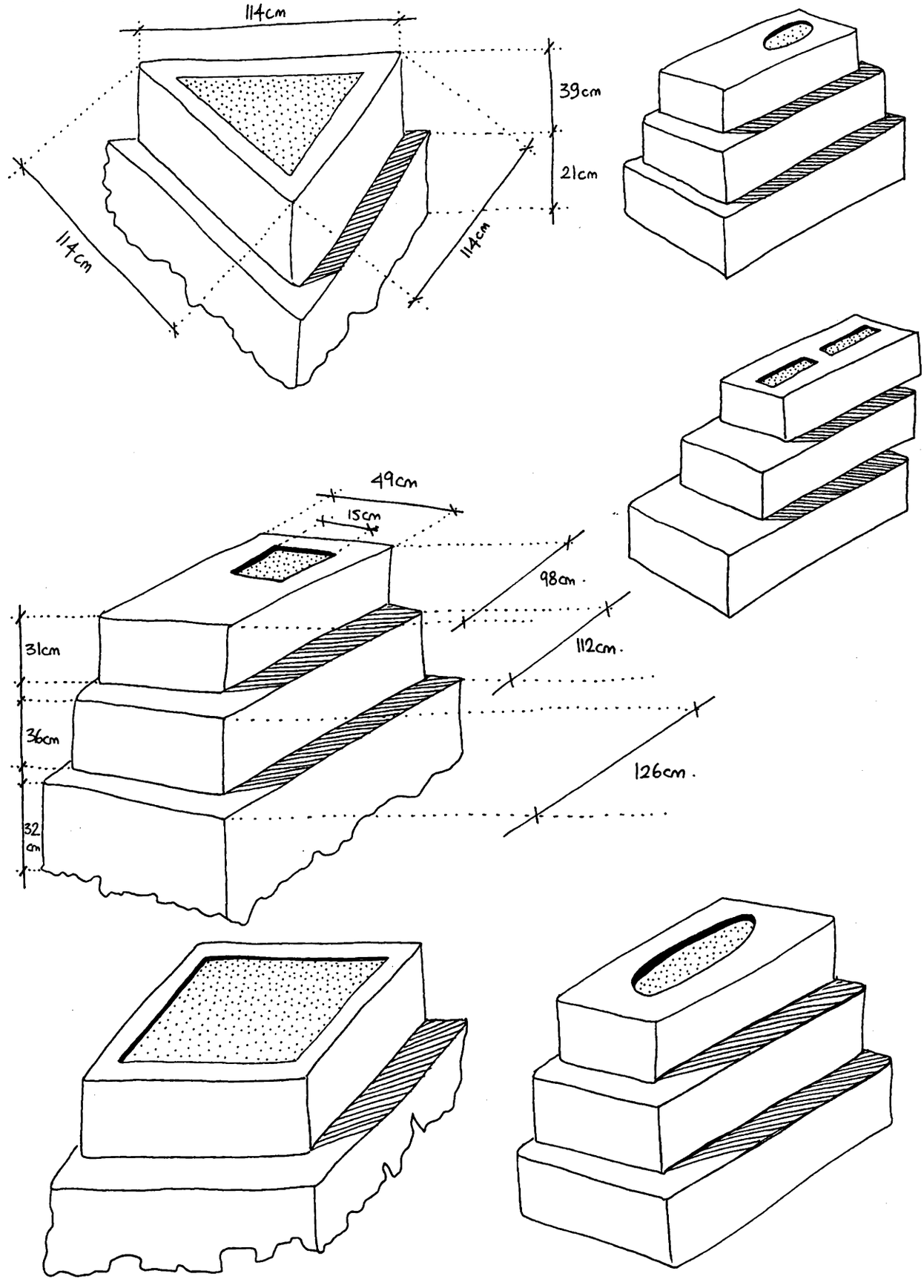


FIGURE 1

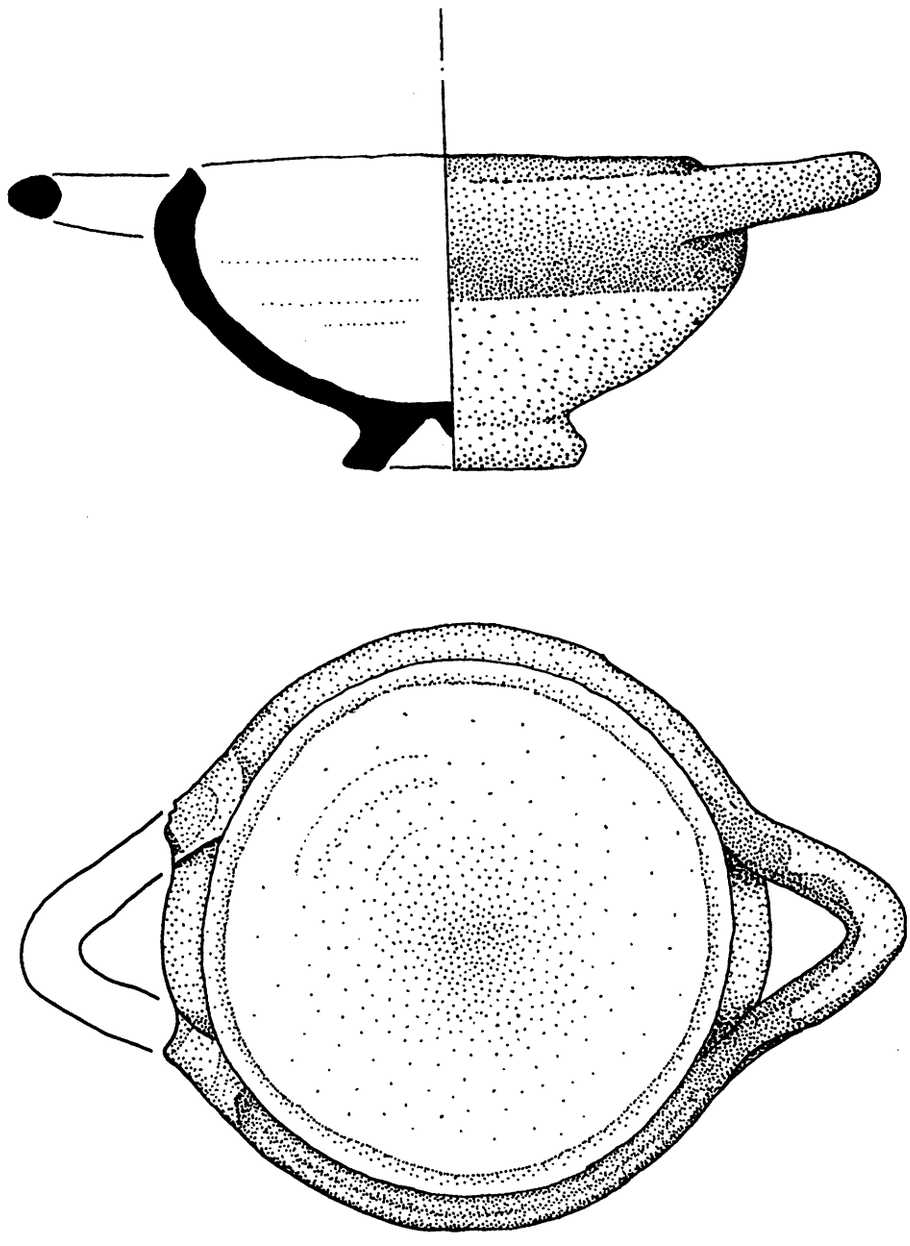
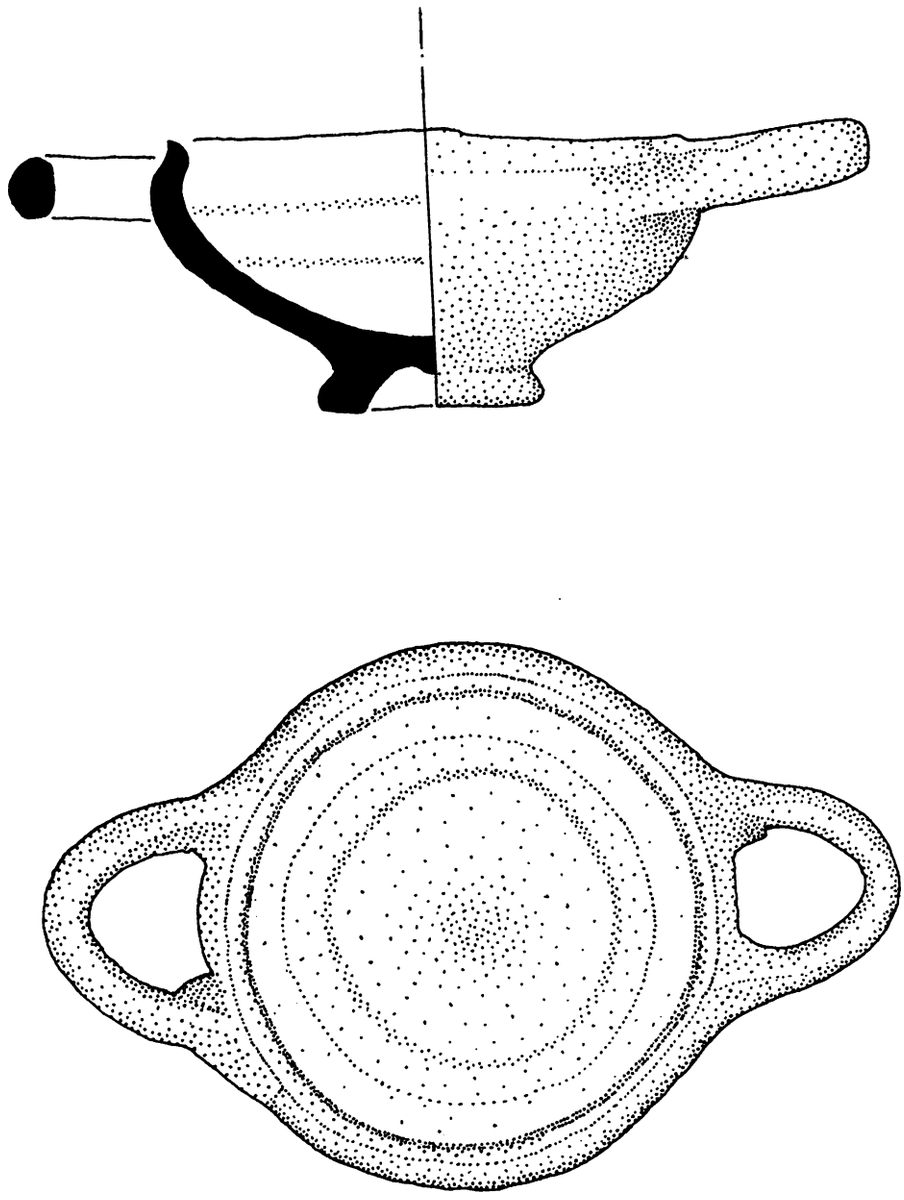


FIGURE 2



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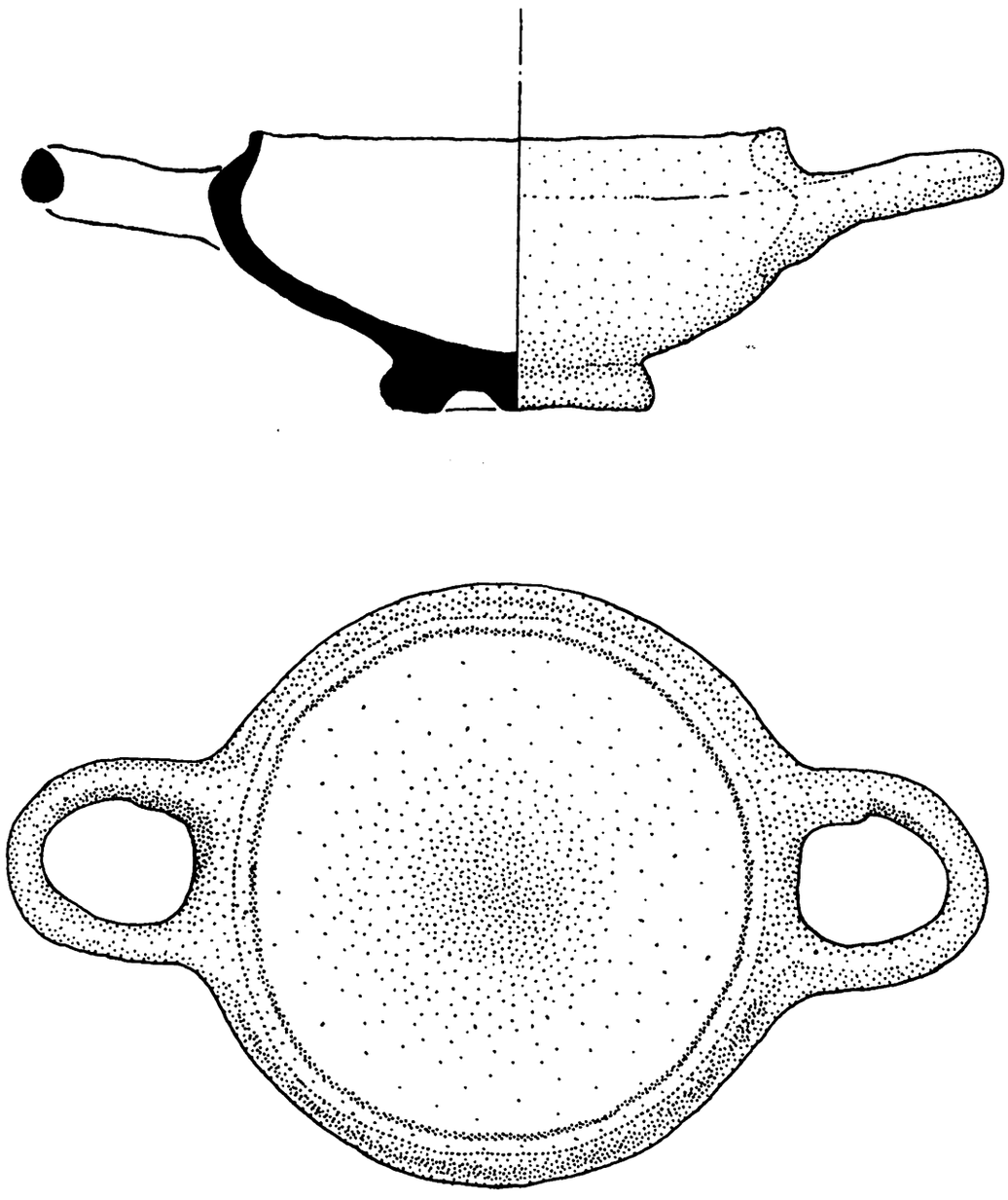

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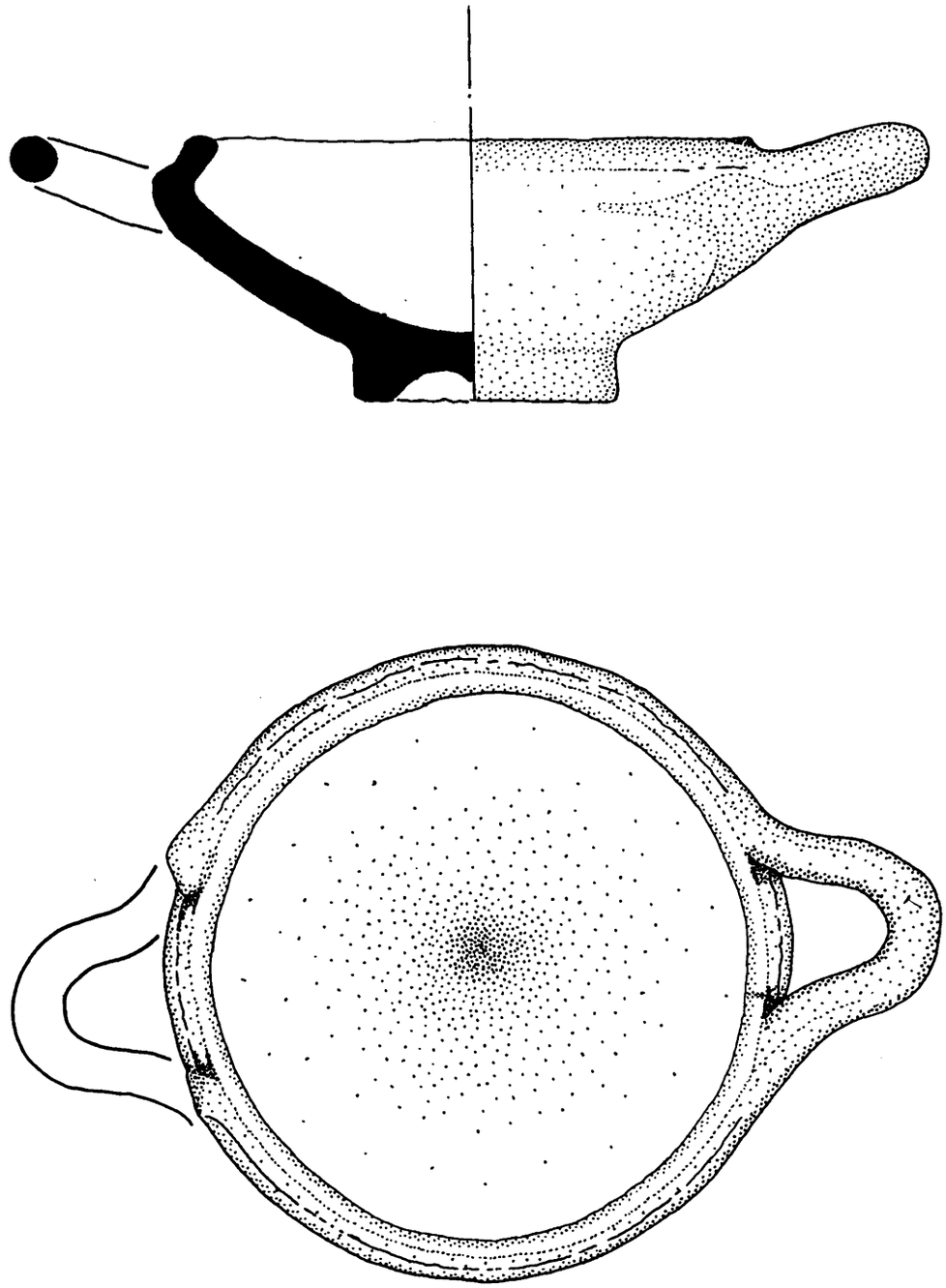
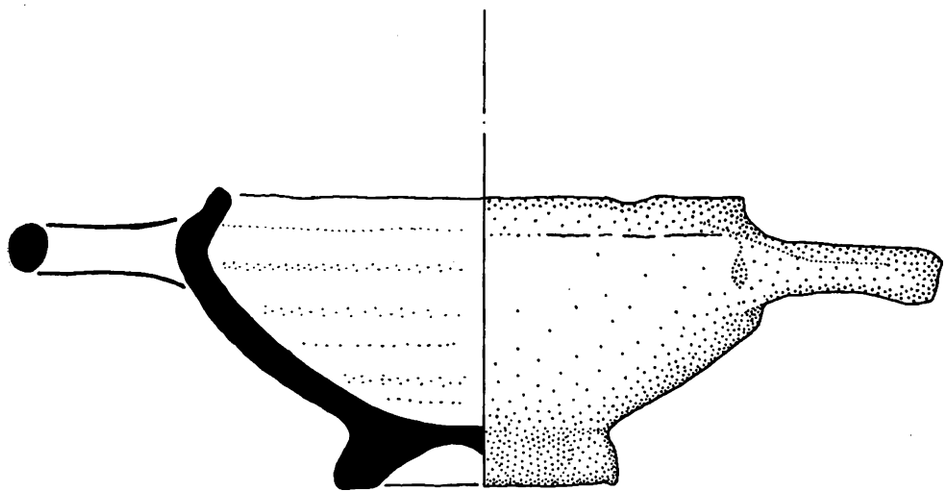


FIGURE 5



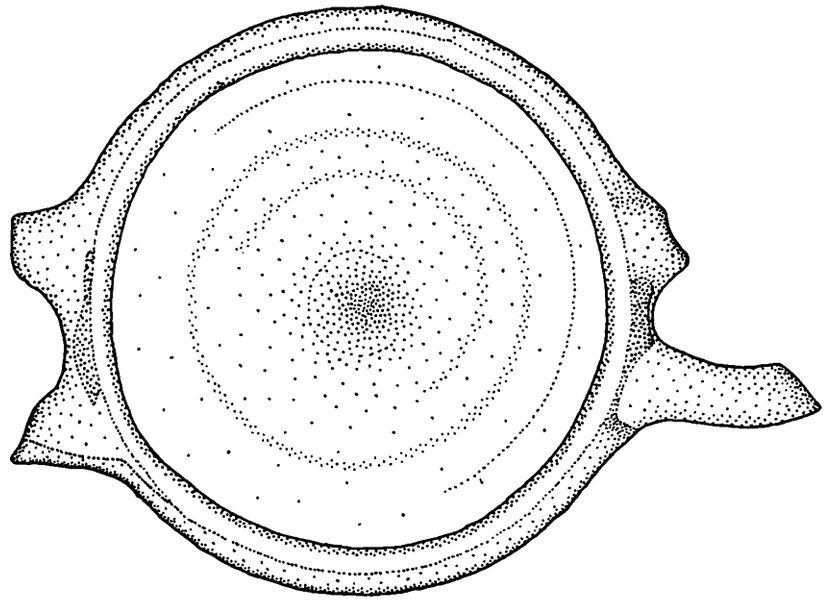


FIGURE 6

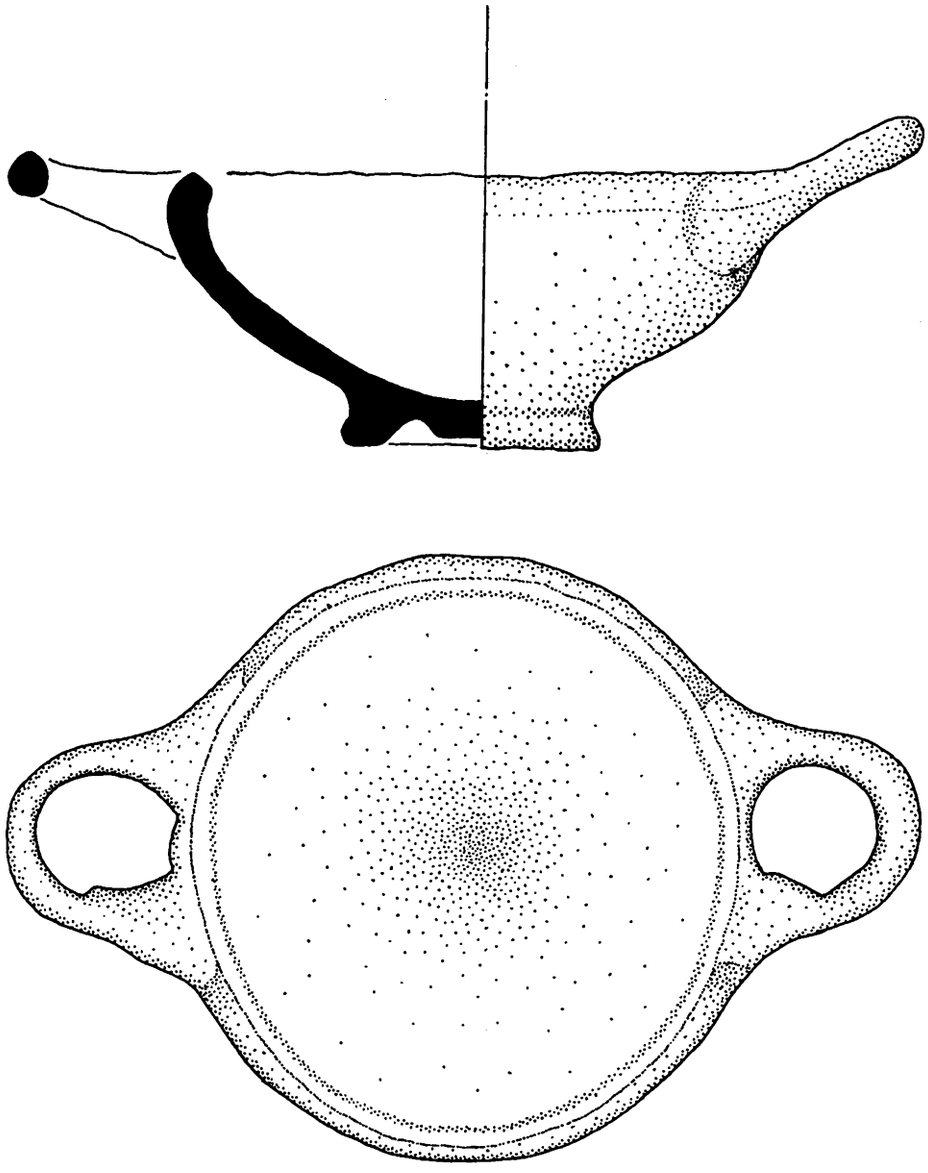
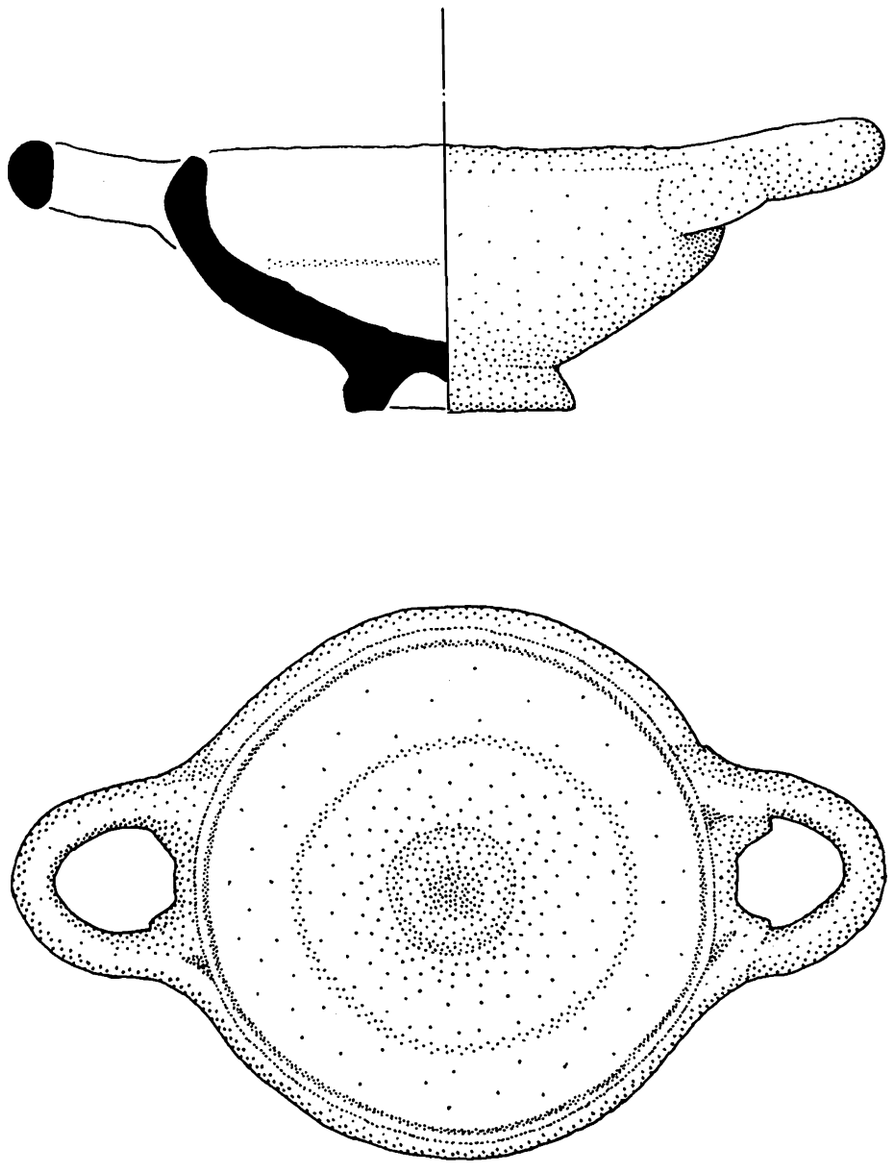


FIGURE 7



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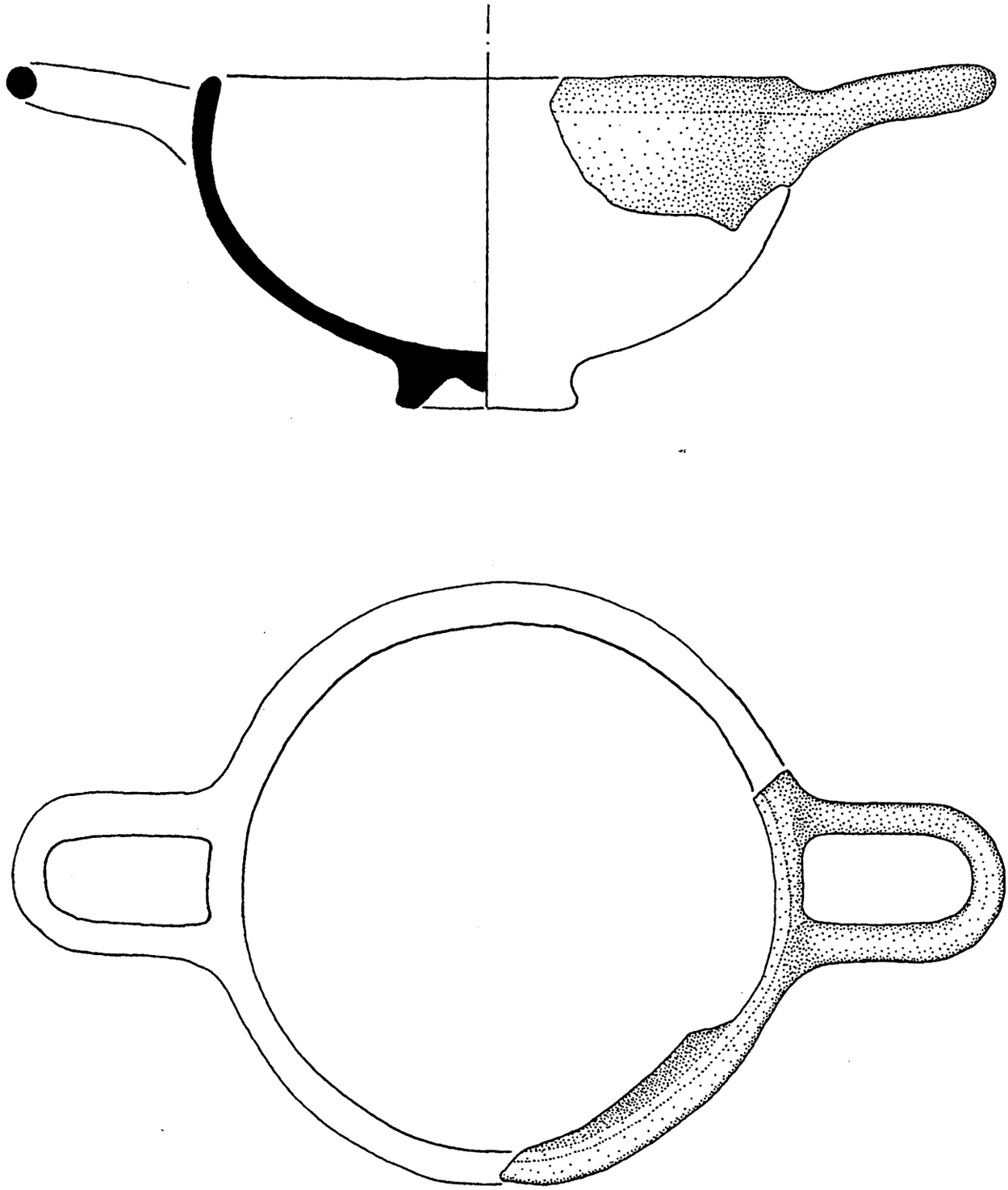
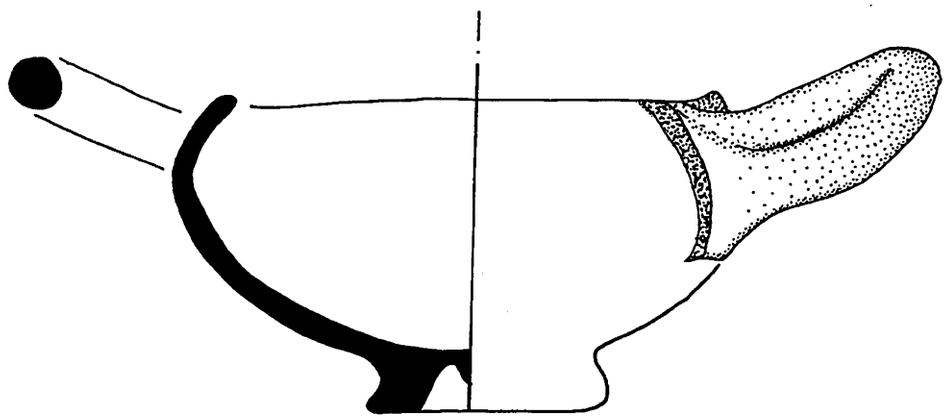
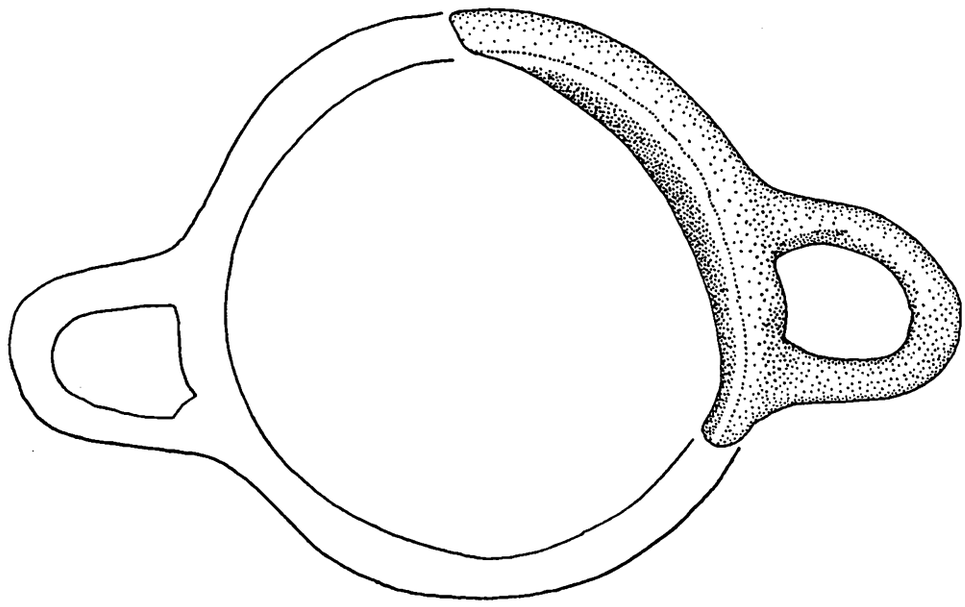


FIGURE 9





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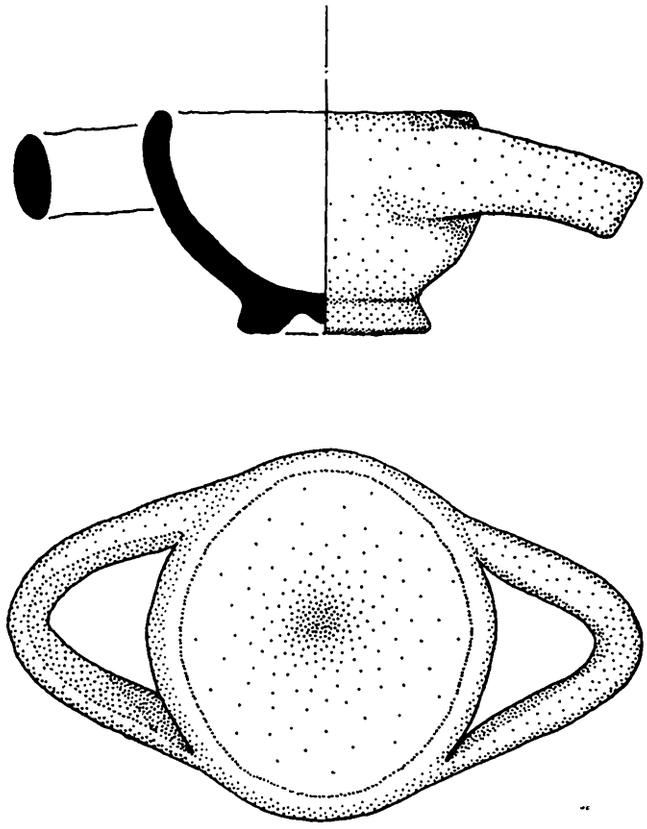
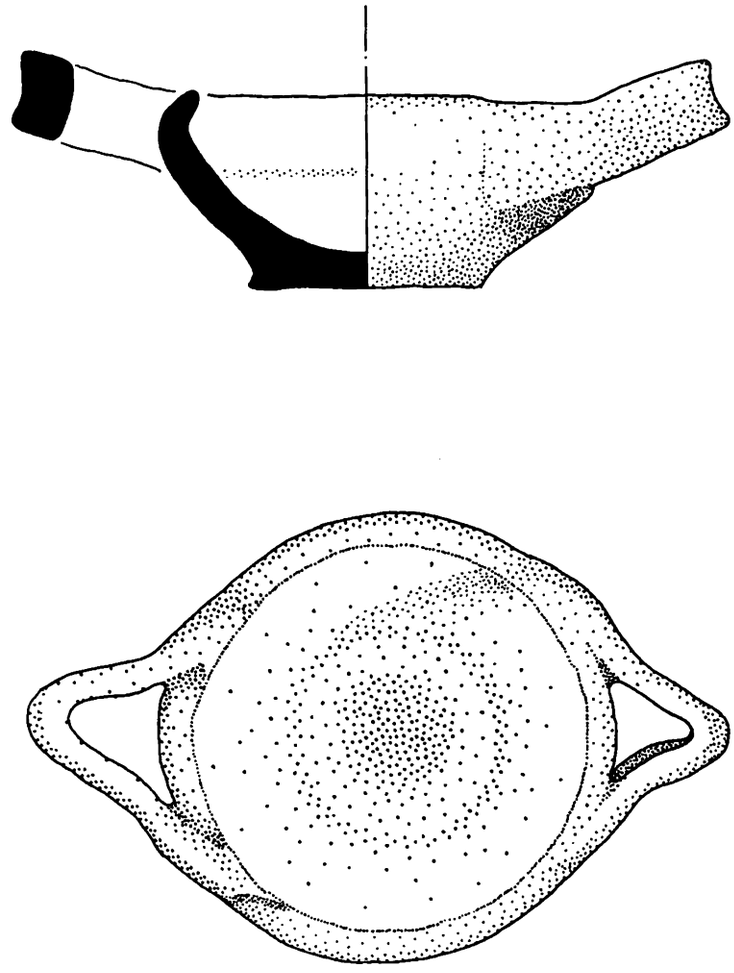


FIGURE 11



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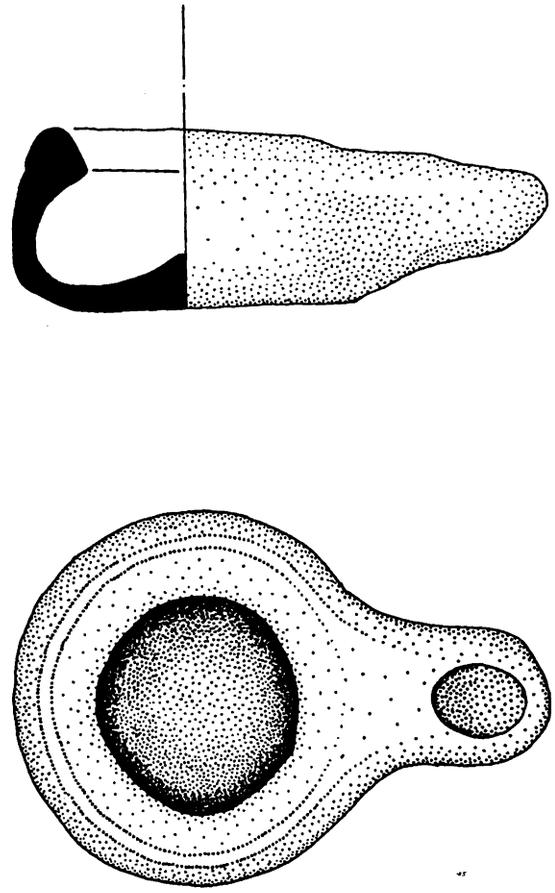

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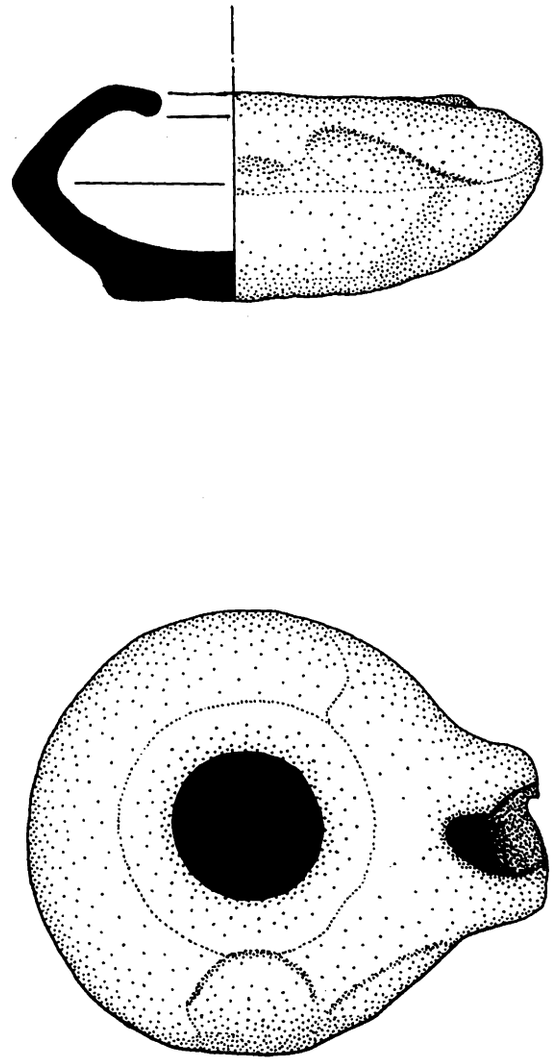

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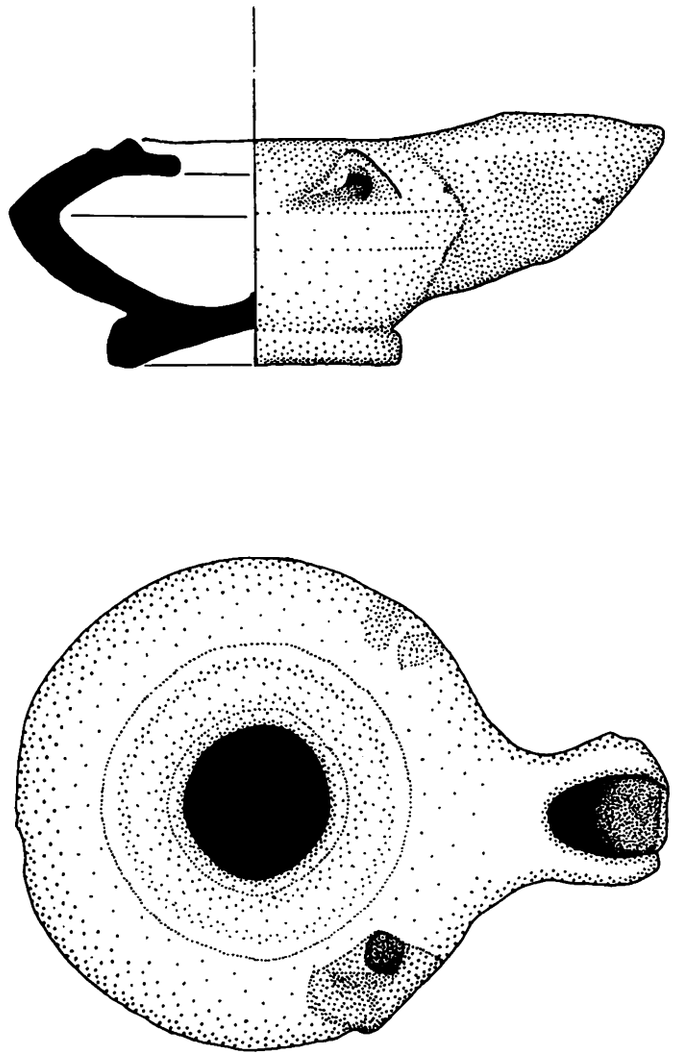

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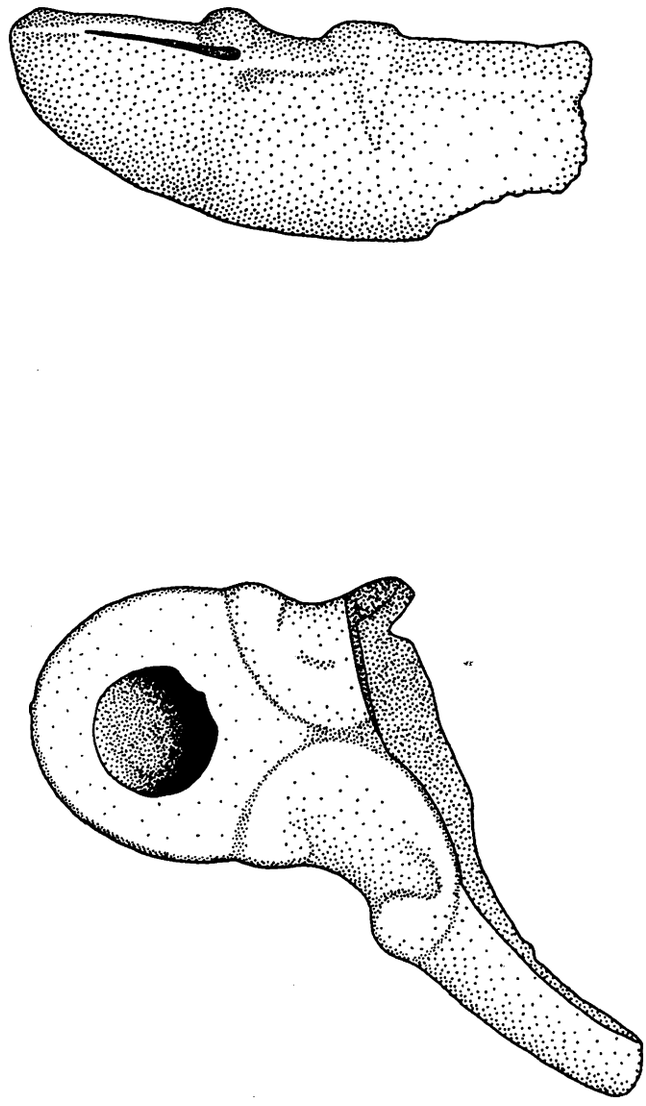

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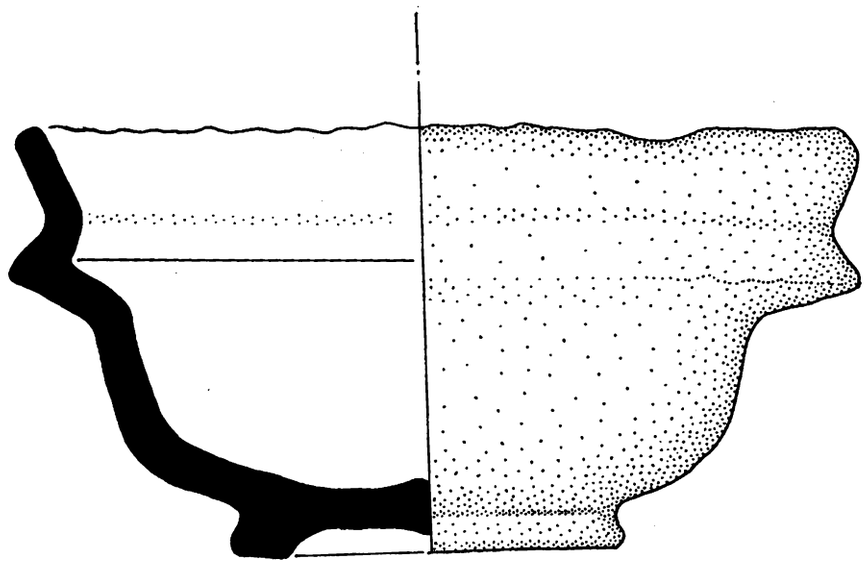

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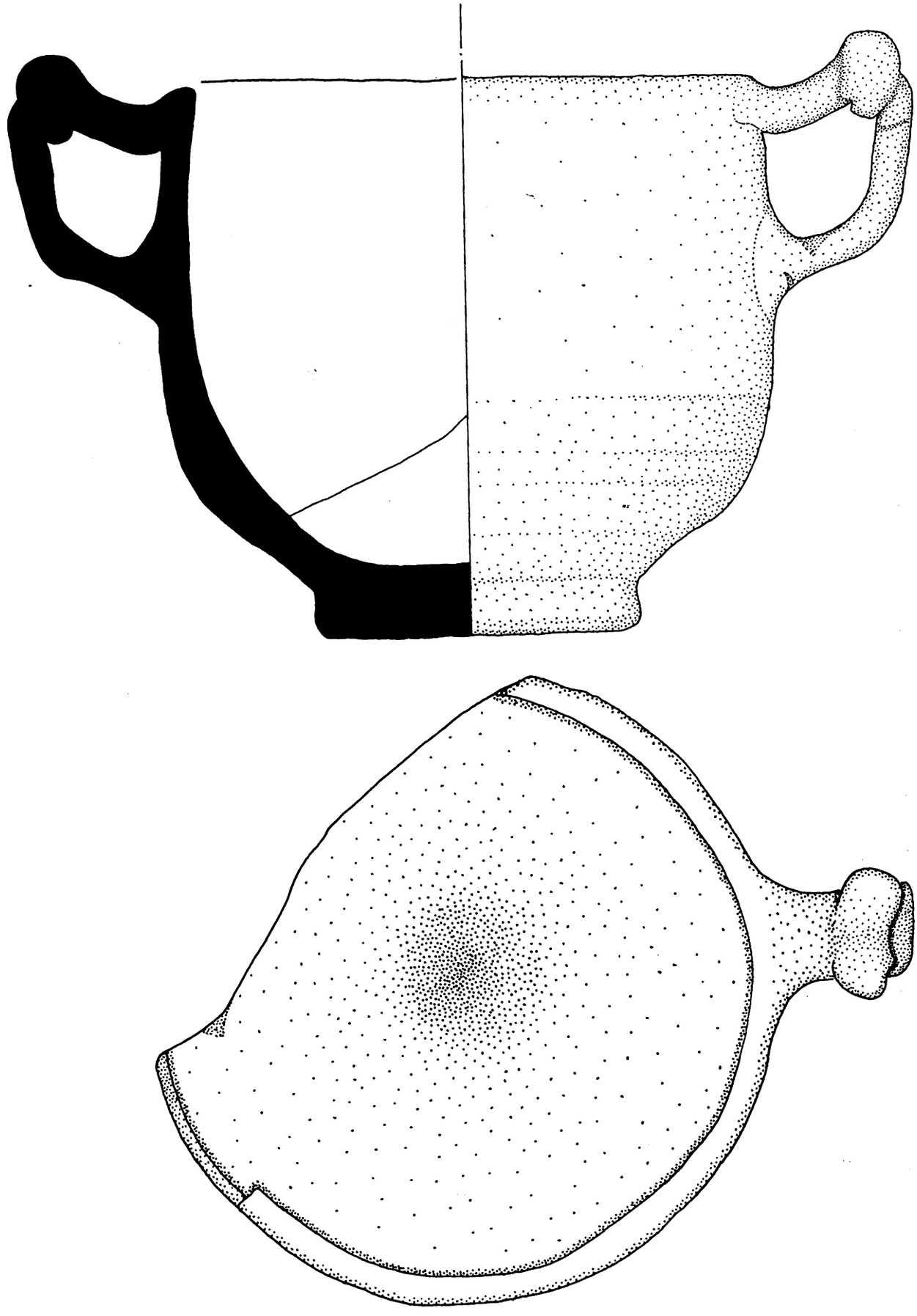

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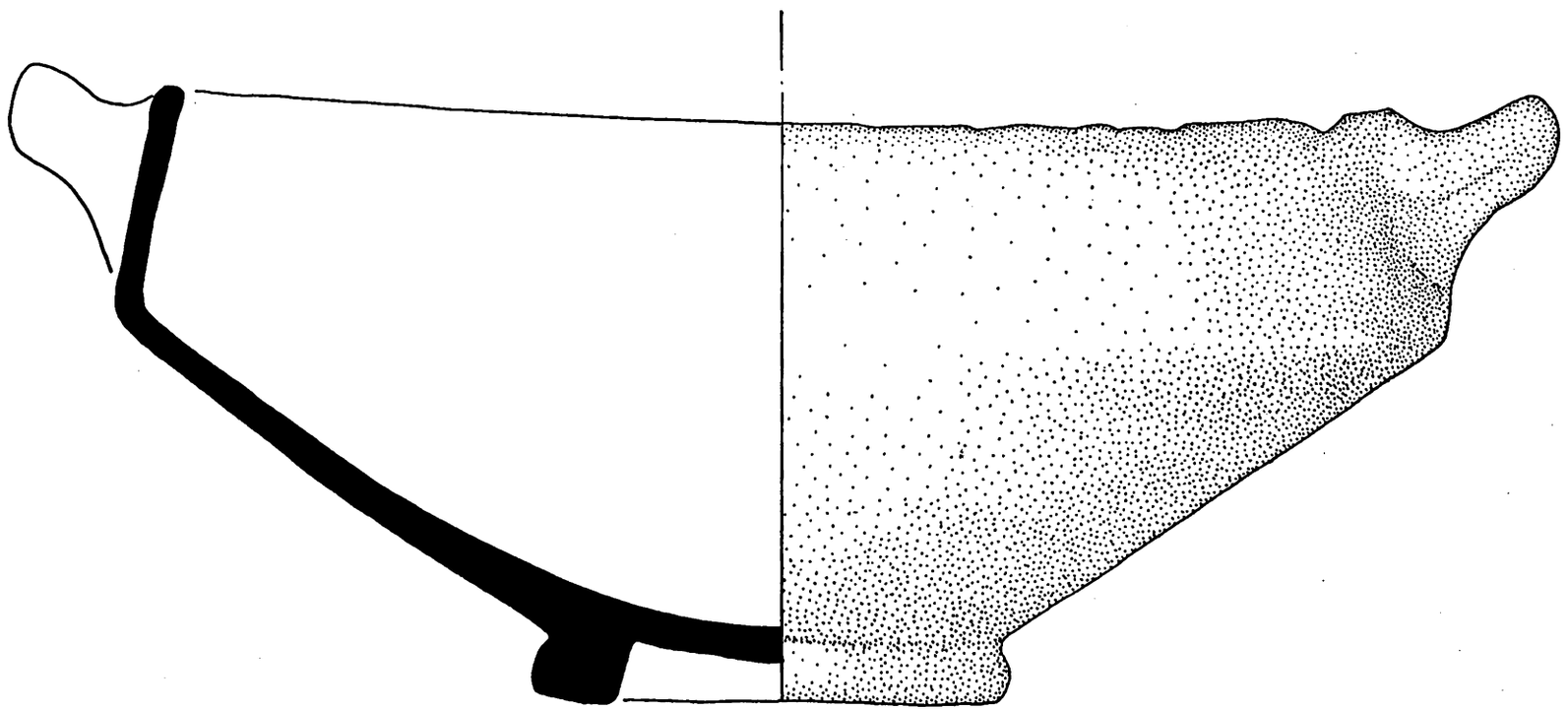

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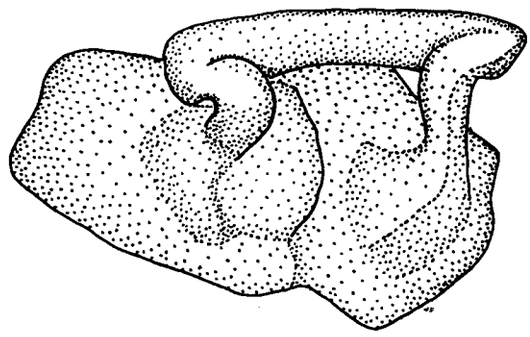

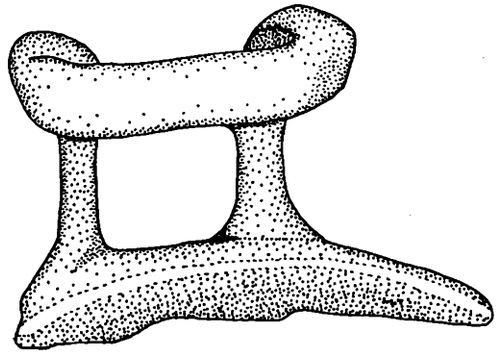

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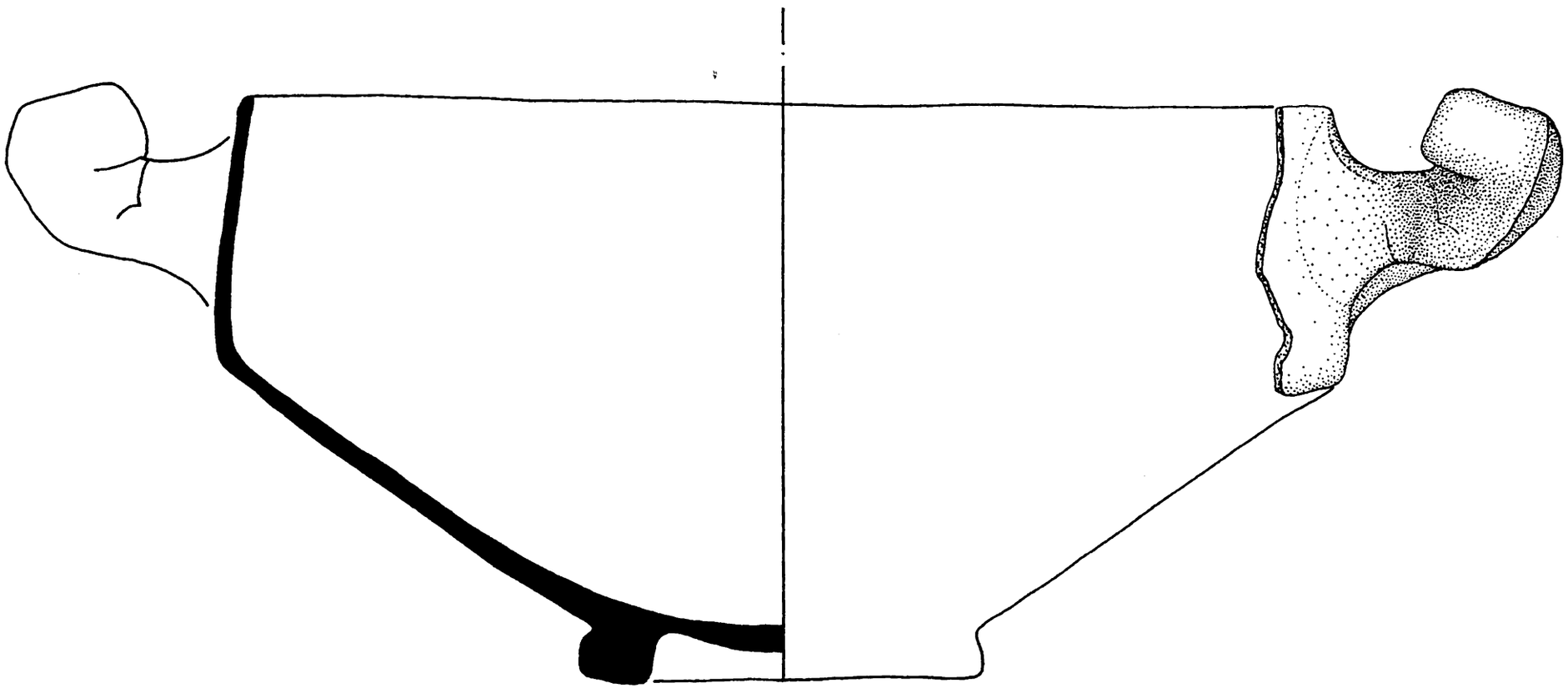
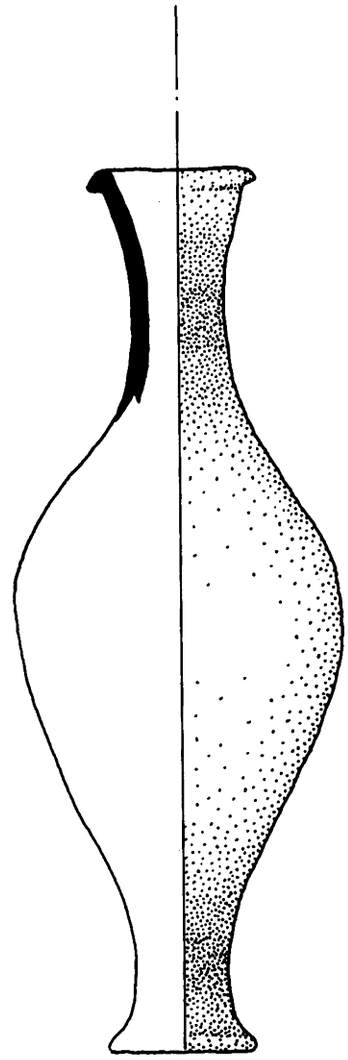


FIGURE 21



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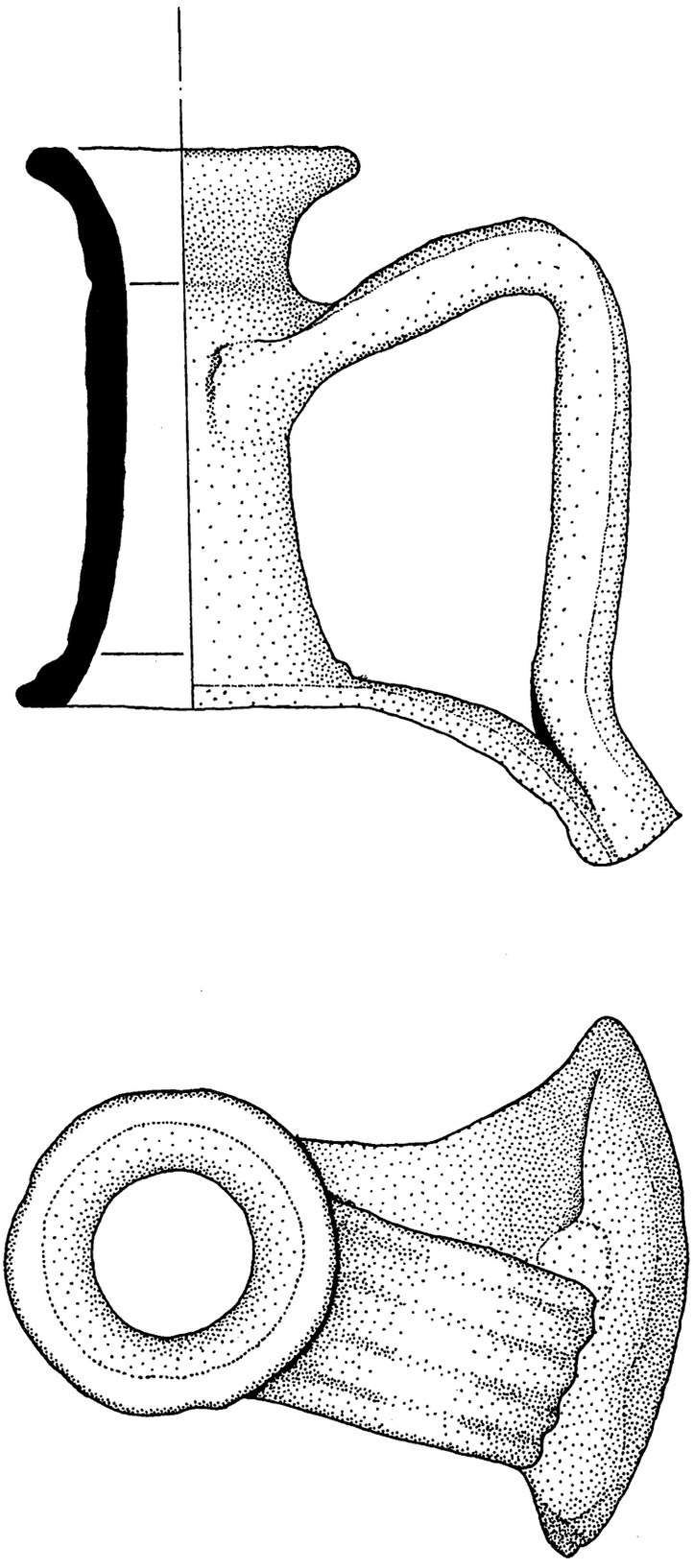

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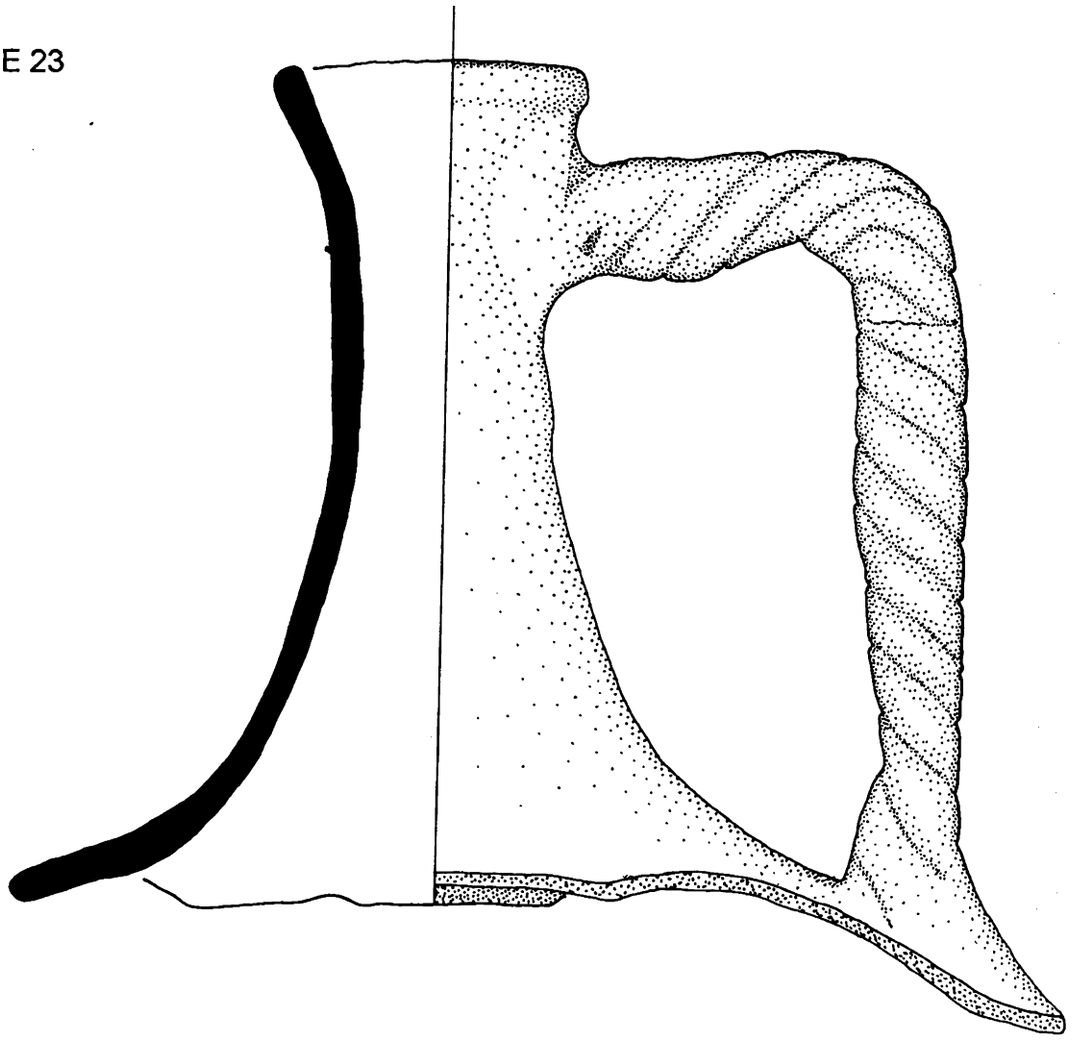

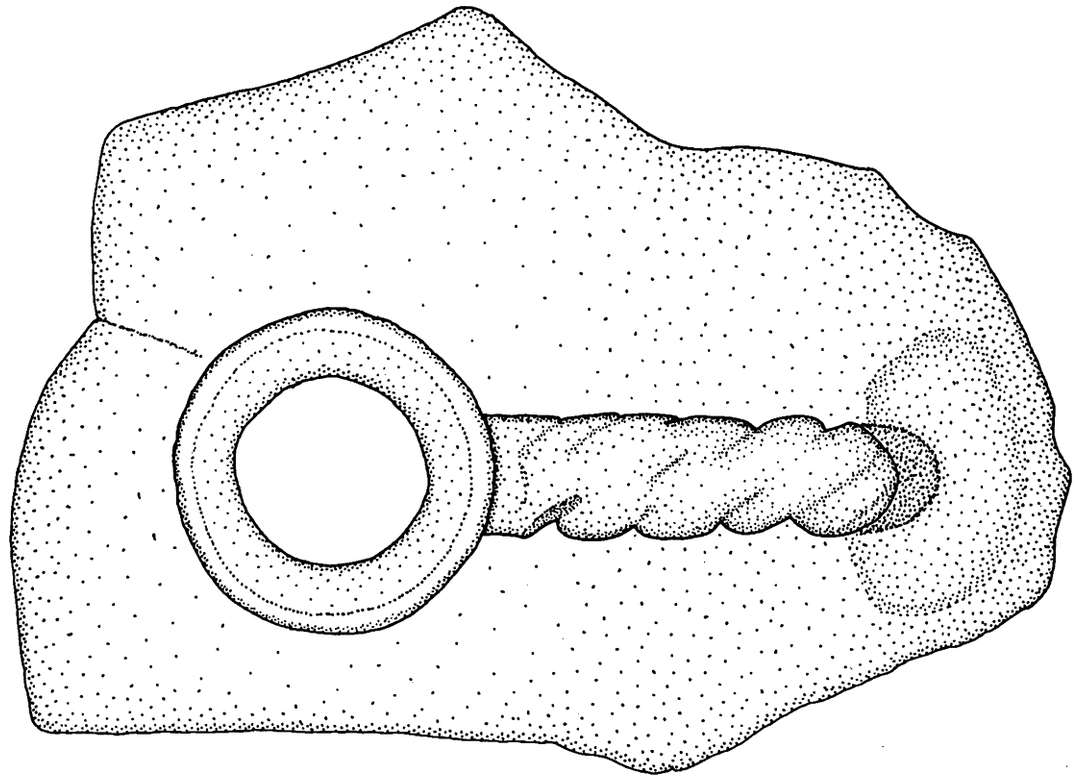

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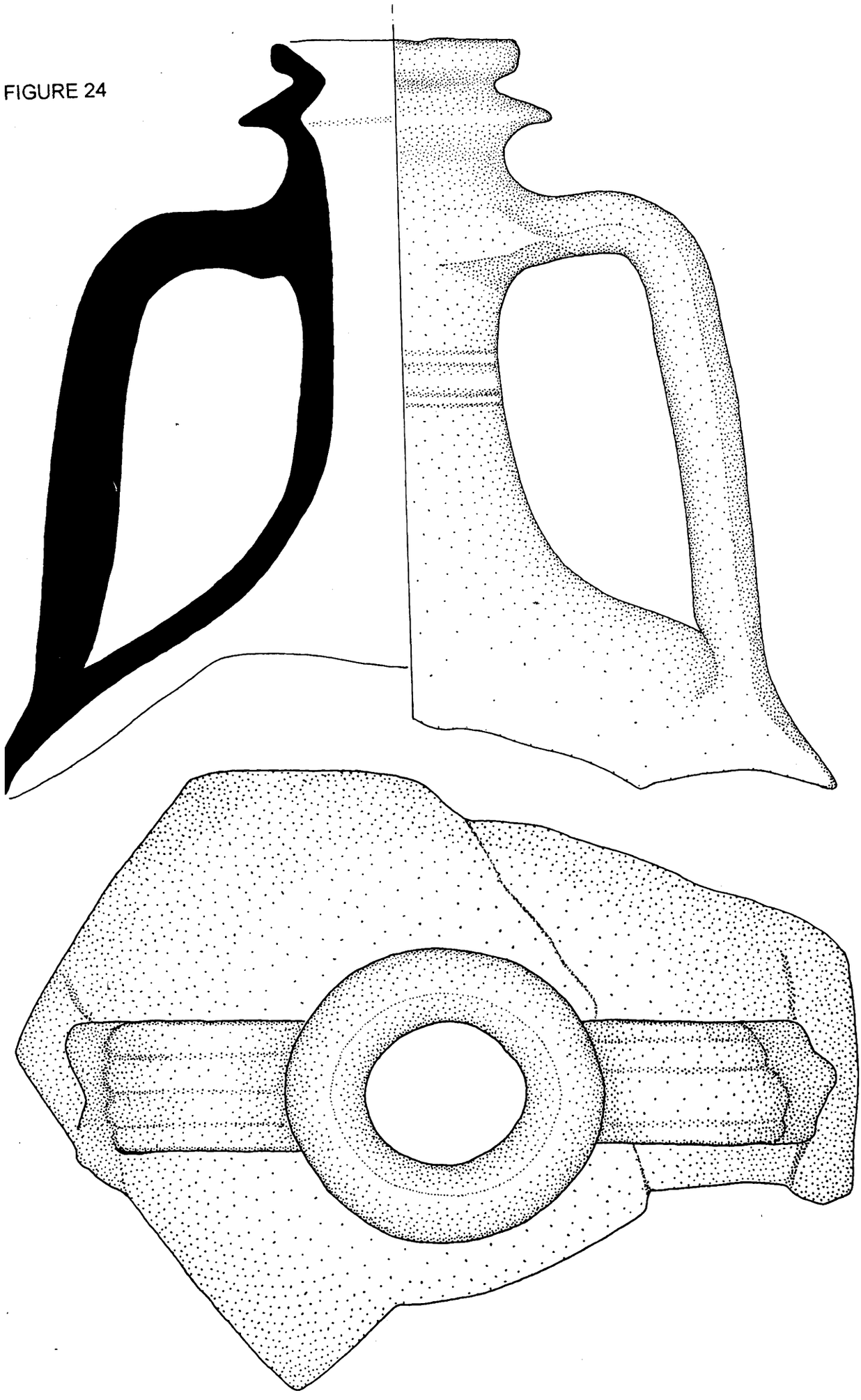
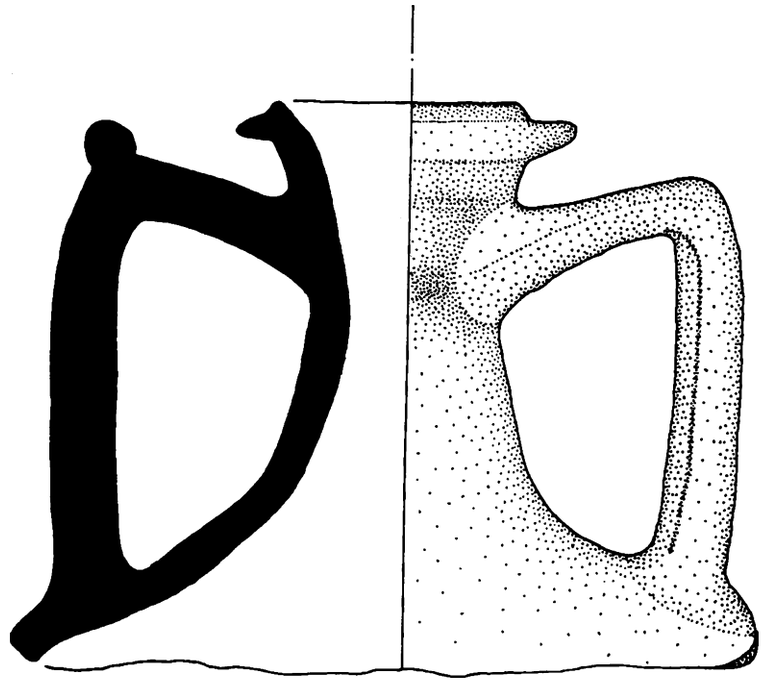


FIGURE 25



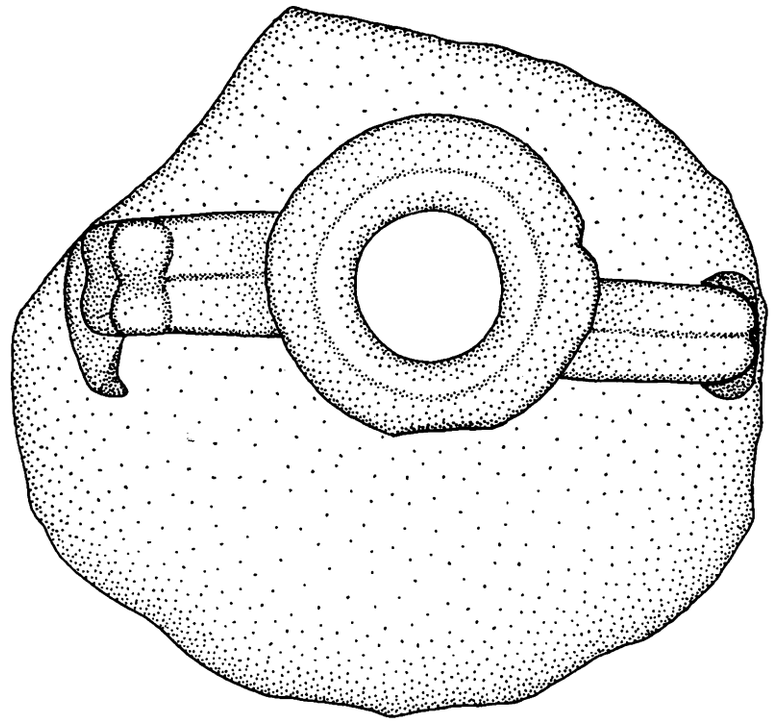
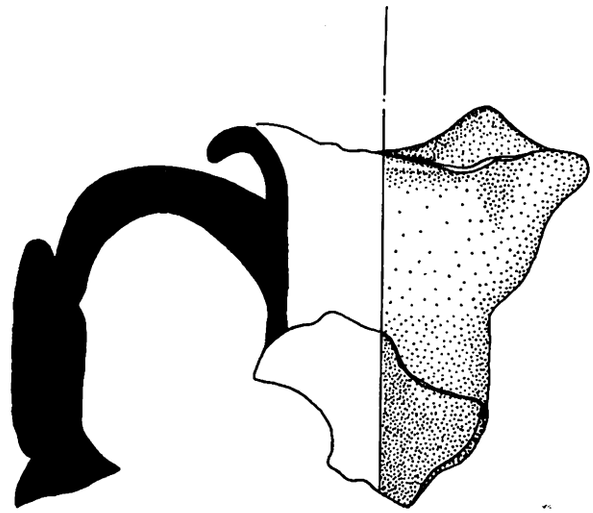


FIGURE 26



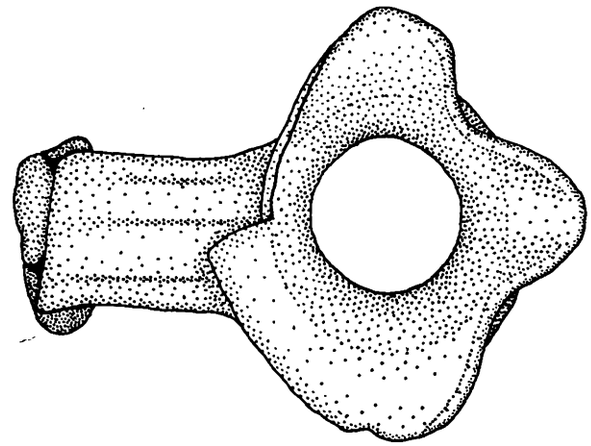
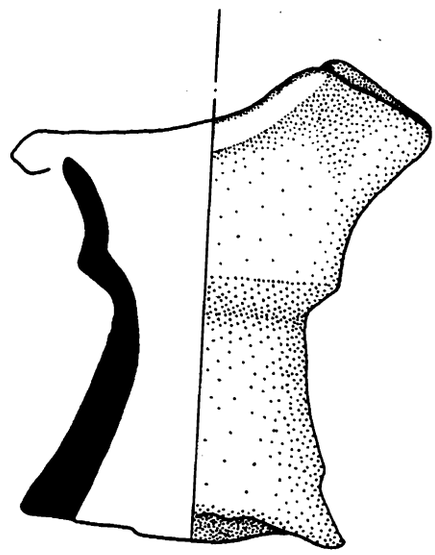


FIGURE 27



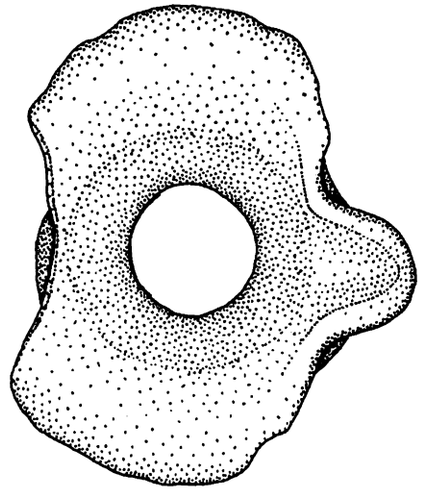


FIGURE 28

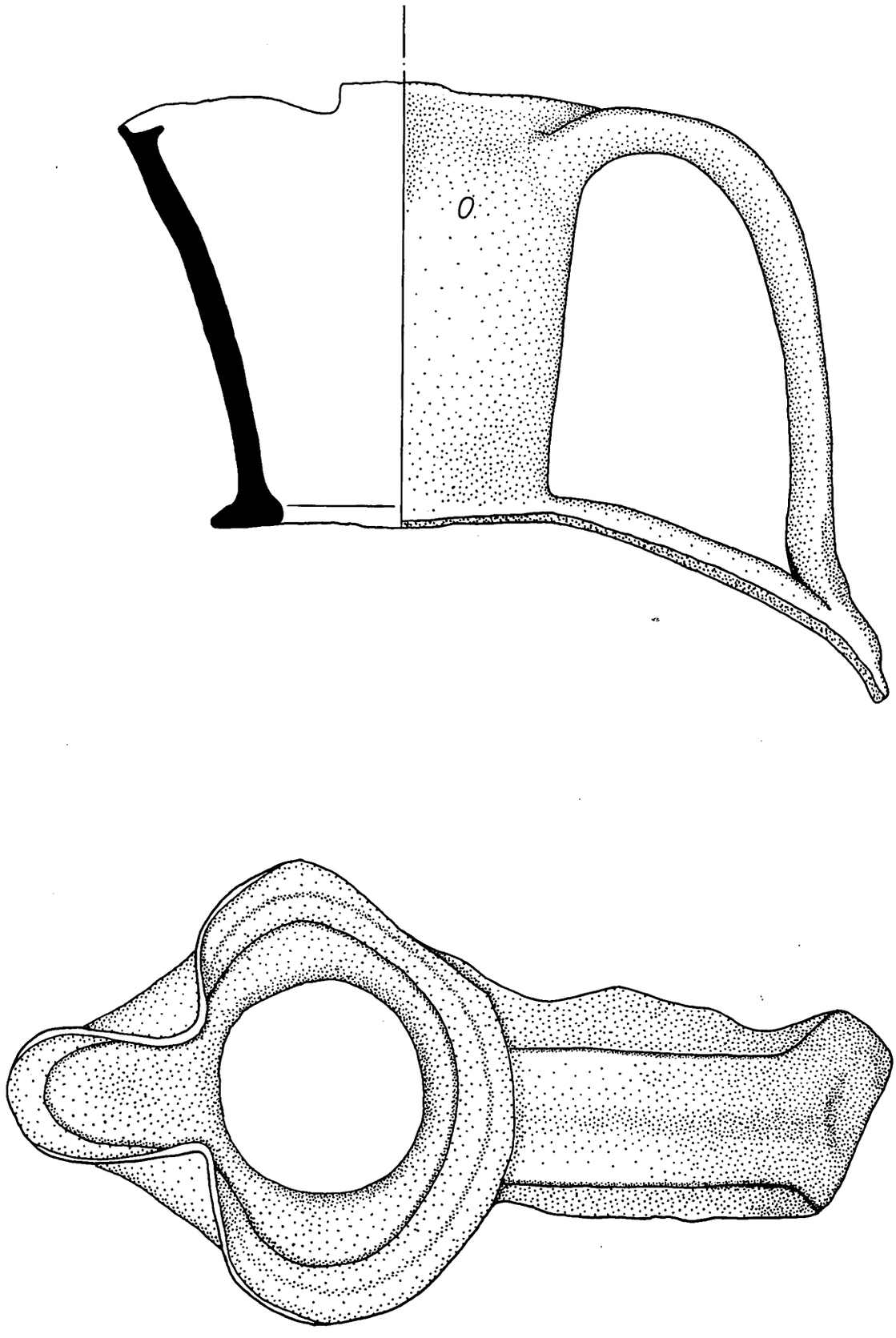


FIGURE 29

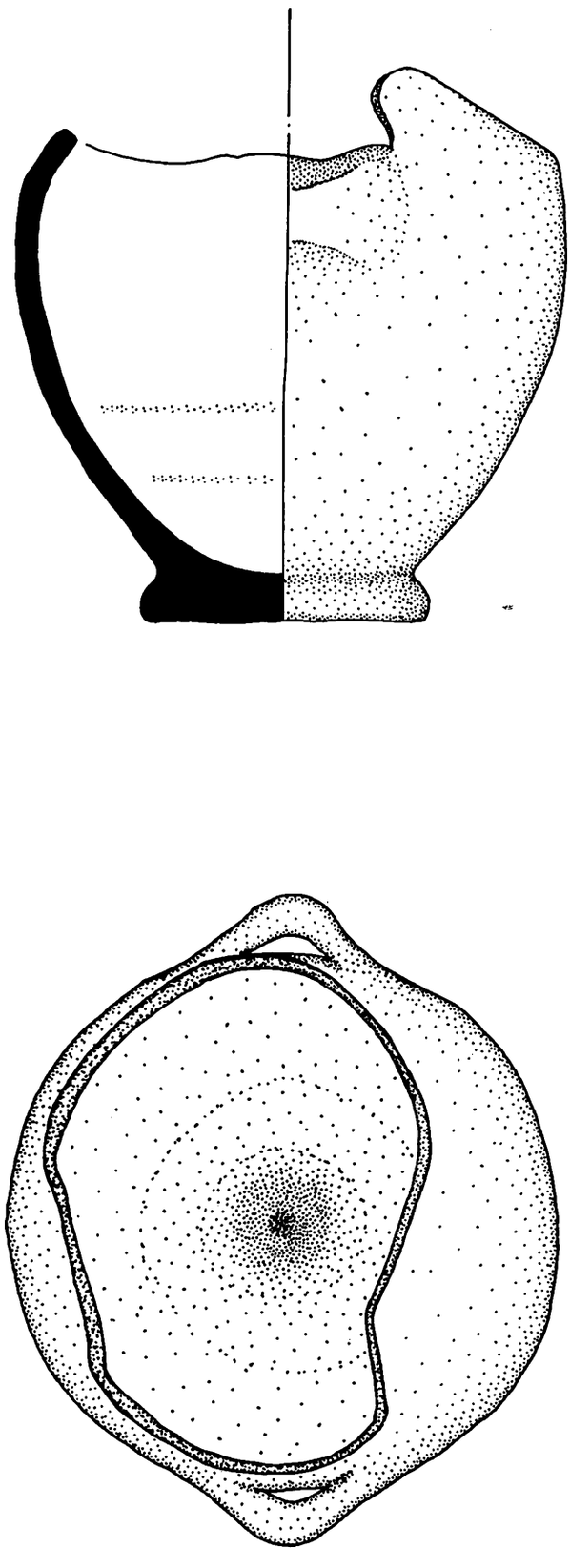


FIGURE 30

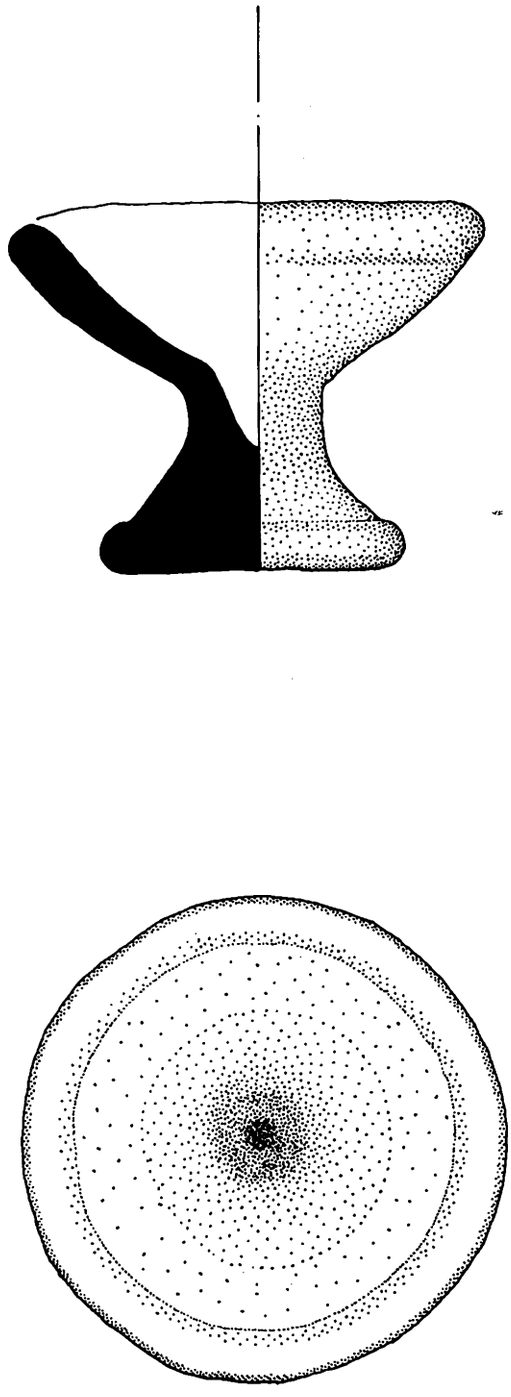


PLATE 1: CUPS

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PLATE 2: LAMPS

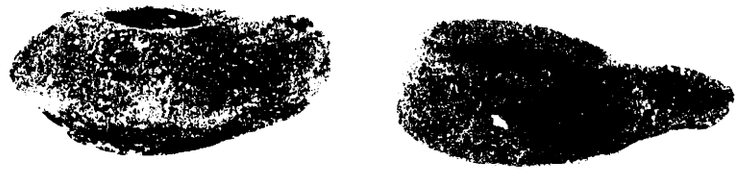

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PLATE 3: BOWLS AND UNGUENTARIUM

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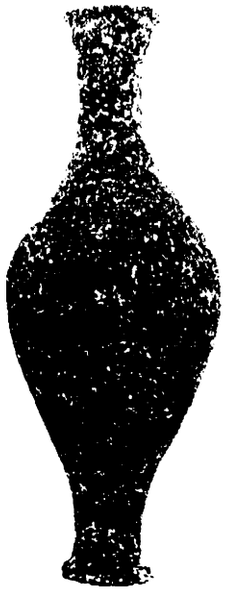
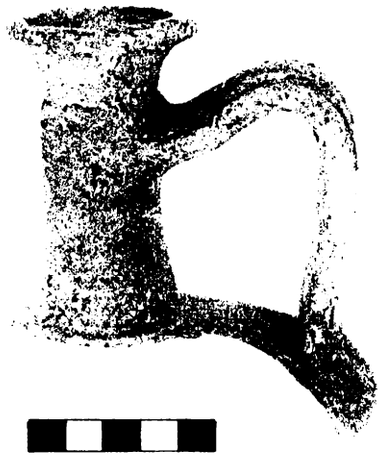


4

PLATE 4: JUGS



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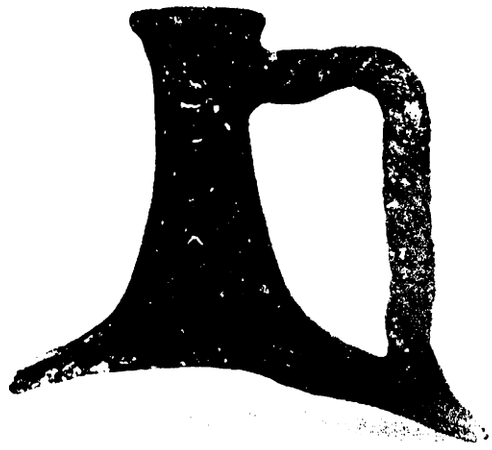

2

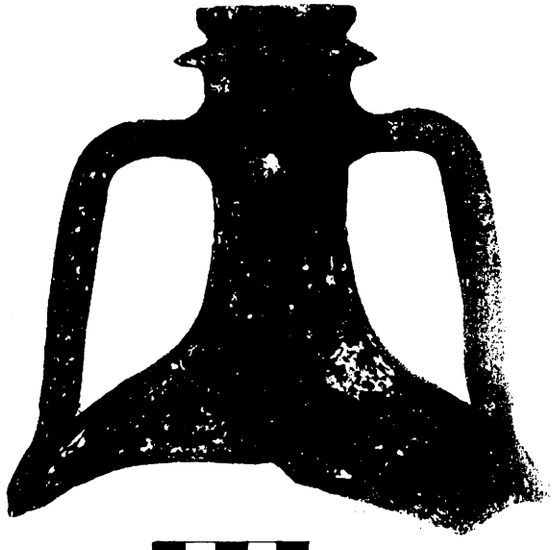

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PLATE 5: J29 AND MISCELLANEOUS

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